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## English music manuscripts and the fine paper trade, 1648-1688.

Thompson, Robert Perry

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ENGLISH MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS  
AND THE FINE PAPER TRADE, 1648 - 1688

VOLUME II



**PART II****SOME DATED MANUSCRIPTS, 1648 - 1688**

## CHAPTER VI

## ENGLISH MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS FROM 1648 TO 1660

The quantity of seventeenth-century music manuscripts surviving in good condition makes it easy to forget that papermaking was then a highly skilled craft and that every sheet of paper was individually made, often at a single-vat mill capable of producing no more than eight reams of foolscap-size paper a day. Some mills had two vats, but larger establishments were very rare. Paper of the quality needed for copying music was a rather expensive commodity which was not produced in England, and stationers appear to have been ready to experiment with different sources of supply in order to provide the best material for their customers.

Roger North (1654-1734) tells us that his earliest attempt at music copying was spoilt partly 'for want of good paper'.<sup>1</sup> Although the problem could have been due to his own inexperience, the same cannot be said of the copyist of Ob MSS Mus. Sch. c.64-69, a large set of partbooks dated 1641, who resorted to the expensive measure of pasting adjacent folios together to prevent the black notes from showing through. The paper, marked with various patterns of grapes and pillars watermark, is of good quality for normal purposes, and is in fact ruled for music on both sides, but the few unpasted folios in the cantus part show all too clearly why only one side could be used. Sources dating from c.1645-1655, however, demonstrate that during those years satisfactory paper



for music, generally marked with a pot, was produced by mills in Normandy, and paper of this type forms most of the manuscripts described in this chapter.

In Ob MSS Mus. Sch. e.407-9, a set of parts which belonged to the North family, an apparently Angoumois foolscap makes an early appearance dated 1654, and a number of sources, including Lbl Add. 10337 (c.1657) have Italian paper with a hat watermark.<sup>2</sup> The Norman pot paper, though acceptable, seems not to have fully satisfied stationers and their customers, and from 1660 onwards Angoumois paper is almost invariably found in music sources. Despite the undoubted vulnerability of the paper trade to outside pressures, this remarkable shift c.1660 to the almost exclusive use of Angoumois paper seems to be due solely to commercial considerations: stationers wished to supply the best possible paper for the special needs of music. The fact that the change was so sudden and so total suggests that the supply of ruled music paper was mostly in the hands of a small group of merchants or even of a single man, whose decision to change his source of supply makes itself apparent throughout the whole range of sources using prepared music paper. John Playford, who in 1664 advertised 'Dutch' (really Angoumois) paper ruled for music, is the most likely candidate. The most superficial comparison of the kinds of paper used for music and the far wider range used for general purposes at the same period shows that the suppliers of ruled paper were highly selective, a tendency which becomes more and more apparent as the century progresses.

# British Library Additional Manuscript 10338

(Watermarks I-II; V-XI; XV, XVIII, XXXIII)

British Library Additional Manuscript 10338 is a score book containing most of the surviving works of the English composer George Jeffreys (c.1610-1685), which consist of instrumental fantasias, various kinds of secular vocal music, and a large number of sacred works for one to six voices and continuo.<sup>3</sup> The sacred music also survives in autograph sets of partbooks, the four-, five- and six-voice works in the incomplete set Lbl Add. 30829, 30830 and 17816 and the rest in Lcm 920. There are two further sets of autograph parts: Lbl Add. 29282, containing a selection of two- and three-voice works; and Lcm 920A; which has eight of the four-voice works from the score and, reversing the manuscript, a further series ending with the latest of Jeffreys' dated compositions, 'He beheld the citty' of 1675. The only works to survive in parts but not in the score are apparently late ones completed after the score book was full, and it seems as though Add. 10338 otherwise contains Jeffreys' complete oeuvre. He possessed at least one other score book, now lost, as a note on Add. 10338 f. 154 refers to 'my other score booke' and one on f. 160 to 'my other booke', but unless a corresponding set of parts has also disappeared it can have contained relatively little of his own work. It might have contained in score the Italian music found in a further set of parts in Jeffreys' hand, Lbl Add. 31479 (see Ch. X).

In spite of the quantity and quality of his surviving music,

Jeffreys appears to have occupied no professional position as a composer or performer until the Civil War, when he was organist to the King's court at Oxford.<sup>4</sup> The details of his previous life are obscure, but he was certainly active as a composer in the 1630s. In 1631, according to his own date in Add. 10338, he composed music for 'some comedyes' by Sir Richard Hatton, unpublished works whose identity is as uncertain as their author's; and Peter Hausted's The Rival Friends, for which Jeffreys also provided music, was performed at Cambridge in 1632.<sup>5</sup> The score also contains settings of texts by Thomas Randolph, from his Poems, with The Muses' Looking Glass and Amyntas, published posthumously in 1638.<sup>6</sup> The earlier of the two sets of instrumental partbooks containing Jeffreys' fantasias at Christ Church, Och 459-462, is likely to date from the 1630s or early 1640s: its watermark, a coat of arms on a crowned shield, is quite unlike anything found in music MSS from 1648 onwards, and the notation, with heavy black crotchets and quavers diamond-shaped in places, similarly points to an early date.<sup>7</sup> Finally, a copy by Jeffreys of two motets by Abundio Antonelli, Ob MS Mus. Sch. e.204 folios 46-49, is dated 1634 (see below).

The three playwrights Richard Hatton, Peter Hausted and Thomas Randolph, and one other man of great importance in Jeffreys' later life, Christopher Hatton, were all at Cambridge in the 1620s. Sir Christopher Hatton, later Lord Hatton, was admitted to Jesus College on 12 January 1620 and graduated M.A. in 1622.<sup>8</sup> Hausted matriculated from Queen's in 1620, graduated B.A. in 1624 and M.A. in 1627.<sup>9</sup> Randolph matriculated from Trinity in 1624:

after his death in 1635 Sir Christopher Hatton paid for a marble monument in the church at Blatherwick where he was buried. The inscription on the monument was composed by Hausted.<sup>10</sup> Jeffreys' involvement with this small group of Cambridge men suggests that the author of the 1631 comedies, identified in the score only as 'Sir R. Hatton', is Richard Hatton, son of Sir Robert Hatton of Lambeth: Richard was admitted to Sidney Sussex in 1623.<sup>11</sup> He had already been admitted to Gray's Inn on 18 March 1620, the same day as Christopher Hatton,<sup>12</sup> and was presumably the man knighted at Oxford on 23 January 1645, then said to come from Northamptonshire.<sup>13</sup> The 1662 heraldic visitation of Surrey, however, refers to Sir Richard Hatton 'of Thames Ditton'.<sup>14</sup>

In a letter to Lady Hatton dated 3 March 1655 (Lb1 Add. 29550 folios 232-3) Jeffreys writes: 'I fear much of the wicked and abominable lying and slanderous tongue of the kinsman of Clapham', a comment which suggests that the Hattons of Surrey were related to Sir Christopher's Northamptonshire family and possibly explains why Richard was assigned to Northamptonshire when he was knighted. Certainly Richard Hatton of Lambeth was at Cambridge at the same time as other playwrights for whom Jeffreys composed music, although there is no record of Jeffreys himself having entered the university.

No problems of identification are raised by Hausted's Rival Friends. Jeffreys describes it as 'Dr Hausted's unfortunate comedy' (Add. 10338 f. 51v) and the play's title-page admits it was 'Cried

down by Boyes, Faction, Envie and confident Ignorance'. One of the British Library's copies contains the names of the actors but gives no information about the composer or performers of the music.<sup>15</sup>

Of Jeffreys' four Cambridge acquaintances - the two Hattons, Hausted and Randolph - the three who survived were all present at one time or another in Royalist Oxford in the 1640s. Hausted received the Oxford degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1642, and his A Lecture to the People,<sup>16</sup> published at Oxford in 1644, was seen in manuscript by Charles I.<sup>17</sup> Sir Christopher Hatton became Comptroller of the King's Household,<sup>18</sup> and Richard Hatton was knighted at Oxford in 1645. Another member of the Anglican community at Oxford of special importance to Jeffreys was Peter Gunning (1614-1684),<sup>19</sup> the prominent divine at whose request he composed his 'Morning Hymn' in 1652 (Add. 10338 folios 104v-106). Aston's reference to a Dr Gunning of Jeffreys' acquaintance who died in 1669 perpetuates a contemporary rumour passed on by Jeffreys, with reservations, in a letter to Christopher Hatton dated 31 January 1669/70.<sup>20</sup> Jeffreys wrote: 'If the newes we are told of the death of Dr Gunning be true, I conceive Stoke Parsonage will make your concurrence necessary whosoever shall have it.' (Lbl Add. 29552 f. 210). On 7 February Jeffreys clarified the situation: 'I am glad sir to hear that instead of Mr Tresham's newes of Dr Gunning he is advanced though not to heaven.' (Lbl Add. 29552 f. 213). These letters confirm that the Gunning of Jeffreys' circle was indeed the eminent Anglican and Royalist who was rector of Stoke Bruerne in Northamptonshire from 1660 to 1670, when he became

bishop of Chichester. During the Commonwealth, this man led Anglican services at Exeter House, for which some of Jeffreys' devotional music could well have been written.

Hawkins' comment on the music of the Oxford court ('choral service was performed there after a very homely fashion')<sup>21</sup> implies that high musical standards could not be maintained in the circumstances. Jeffreys' obscurity before 1643 suggests that he was no virtuoso performer, and that his presence with the court was due to his personal, political and religious loyalties rather than to professional ambition. His musical abilities may well have been welcome, but the major administrative responsibilities that were placed upon him from 1648 onwards suggest that he was already regarded as a capable and trustworthy servant in such matters.

Oxford surrendered to Parliament in June 1646.<sup>22</sup> Charles I had given himself up to the Scots at Newark in May,<sup>23</sup> so Lord Hatton's office of Comptroller of the Household no longer existed; Peter Gunning became tutor to Hatton's son, another Christopher; Hausted had died during the siege of Banbury in 1645.<sup>24</sup> Jeffreys is shown by letters from early 1649 onwards to have become a senior servant of the Hatton family. Lord Hatton himself went into exile in Paris,<sup>25</sup> leaving Lady Hatton, supported by Jeffreys and others, to cope with the consequences of belonging to the losing side in the Civil War. These are clearly illustrated by Jeffreys' letters to Lady Hatton of 5 and 8 February 1649 (Lbl Add. 29550 folios 91-94) and one from Lord Hatton himself to the King's secretary of state, Sir Edward Nicholas, dated 29 August

1648. Lord Hatton writes:

... certainly I had starved had I not left all to  
my wife to manage, who gets something by living there  
and haunting some of her kindred, and what ways I  
know not ...<sup>26</sup>

Jeffreys' own letters, written shortly after the execution of the King on 30 January 1649, reveal both the conditions prevailing for the defeated Royalists and Jeffreys' personal feelings at the time. The family's London residence, Hatton House, had been commandeered to quarter soldiers under Colonel Barkstead, later to be executed as one of the regicides,<sup>27</sup> and Jeffreys had the delicate task of representing his employers' interests there. Both letters refer to the lack of communication with Paris, and towards the end of the second letter Jeffreys writes: 'They have voted neither Lords nor King to be for the future, but what they will have, God knows.'

These and subsequent letters show that Jeffreys divided his time between London and Northamptonshire, where he lived in his own house at Weldon rather than at the Hatton mansion at Kirby, a few miles away. On 3 March 1656 he mentions making a visit to Kirby to deal with correspondence there (Add. 29550 folios 232-3). He was in London again on 11 December 1656 (Add. 29550 folios 275-6) when he writes: 'My sweet mistresses have been to ask blessing and are very well. Capt. Cooke came into the lodging yesterday to teach them, when he promised to do his utmost for them'.<sup>28</sup> On 29 June 1657 (folios 302-3) he writes to George Holmes, another

Hatton servant, to ask him to pay 'Mr Standish who lives in the Blackfryers and is my taylor' a sum of money left for that purpose with Peter Gunning. Jeffreys made fairly regular visits to London and should not be thought of as leading a life of rustic isolation.

Lord Hatton informed Sir Edward Nicholas on 17 October 1656<sup>29</sup> that he had obtained a pass to return to England, which he had done by 21 April 1657, when John Evelyn visited him in London.<sup>30</sup> The persecution of Anglicans was by no means over, however, and on Christmas Day of the same year Evelyn and Lady Hatton were amongst those arrested after a service at Exeter House chapel presided over by Peter Gunning.<sup>31</sup> This congregation, which met regularly under Gunning's leadership, was described in the Publick Intelligencer for 28 December 1657 as:

... the great assembly which some (for the magnitude of it) have been please to term The Church of England: it being (as they say) to be found nowhere else in so great and compact a body ... (p.[206])<sup>32</sup>

At this time Jeffreys' son Christopher must have been at Westminster School: he entered Christ Church in 1659, matriculating on 9 December, as a King's scholar of Westminster.<sup>33</sup> He took part in the weekly music meetings at Oxford, and Wood describes him as 'excellent at the organ and virginalls or harpsichord, having been trained up to these instruments by his father George Jeffreys'.<sup>34</sup> At matriculation Christopher Jeffreys was described as 'gent', and he seems to have married a sister of James Bridges,



Lord Chandos; the composer's grandson, another George Jeffreys, enjoyed a life of relative ease and leisure at the home of his Chandos relations.<sup>35</sup>

By the Restoration the elder George Jeffreys would have been about fifty, and not surprisingly continued in his employment with the Hattons, although dated music in Add. 10338 and Lcm 920A shows that he continued to compose until 1675. In 1657 he suffered an illness severe enough to move him to set 'In the midst of life' and add the comment 'written in the time of my sickness' (Add. 10338 f. 164), but he clearly made a complete recovery as his letters show that he continued to lead a very busy life, and dated music in Add. 10338 points to the period between 1657 and 1662 as one of considerable musical activity. George Jeffreys died at Weldon in 1685.

Jeffreys' autograph score, Lbl Add. 10338, has generally been regarded, in Peter Holman's words, as 'a well organized, retrospective, fair-copy collection'.<sup>36</sup> Hughes-Hughes date of 'after 1669',<sup>37</sup> was more or less accepted by Ian Spink ('c.1669')<sup>38</sup> and there seems to have been no detailed examination of the structure of the manuscript, the possible significance of the dates written in it, and the relationship of its structure and content to the events of Jeffreys' life.

Holman's description is certainly true up to a point. The score is well-organized in the sense that it allocates different sections to different types of music, but the organization breaks down because insufficient space was allowed for three- and four-

voice music. In itself, this qualifies the description 'retrospective': if Jeffreys had known exactly what he wished to include he would have made space for it. Some of the music, however, was certainly copied into the score some years after its original composition. It is true that the score is a fair copy, but marginal notes and various alterations show it also to have been a working copy, subject, in some works at least, to a continuing programme of revision. The complex relationship between paper types, rulings, quiring, handwriting, content and marginalia, which leads towards an explanation of the book's history, is set out in Table I below.

## TABLE I

British Library Additional MS 10338

Catalogue and analysis of structure

Column 1: Binder's mark

The score has a set of contemporary binder's marks. Each gathering has a number on the first recto and another on the final verso, e.g. 1 - 2. The next gathering begins with the following number, 3, and so on. At the gathering which should have been 11 - 12 a mistake was made and the final number is also 11, so the alternation of odd and even numbers is reversed for the rest of the score. One gathering is omitted from this scheme, for reasons discussed below.

Column 2: Folio number

The folio numbers are those of the present British Library foliation, which is not altogether helpful. It omits most of the unused folios, which are therefore identified by a letter after the number of the previous written folio, e.g. 29A, 29B. Folios 39 and 42, which were added by E.T. Warren (c.1730-1794), are omitted from the table.

### Column 3: Watermarks

In the main structure of the manuscript, excluding pasted-in material, there are two different types of pillars watermark, seven pots and one posthorn. With the exception of pillars 2, which occurs in one sheet only, each type is represented by a pair of marks: the two members of each pair are distinguished by a letter, e.g. pot 1a, pot 1b. Three other marks are found only in inserted material: pot 8 and foolscaps 1 and 2.

The marks are illustrated in Chapter V above:

| Add. 10338 mark | Illustration (Ch.V) |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| Pillars 1       | I                   |
| Pillars 2       | II                  |
| Pots 1 - 8      | V - IX;XV           |
| Posthorn        | XVIII               |
| Foolscap 1      | Not illustrated     |
| Foolscap 2      | XXXIII              |

As the various watermarks are always associated with the same stave rulings there is no need to include stave measurements in the table. The ruling on each type of paper is shown overleaf. All of the paper has been trimmed to some extent, and no significant difference exists between the folio sizes of the main types of paper which all measure c.304 mm x 197 mm. Traces of deckel edges survive on one or more edges of most folios apart from the inserted material, which has been greatly cut down.

## Lb1 Add.10338: watermarks and stave rulings

| Mark             | Number of<br>staves                                 | Width<br>mm. | Typical<br>length, mm. | Staves in<br>rastrum | Rastrum<br>span, mm. | Measurement over<br>all staves, mm. |
|------------------|---|--------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Pillars 1        | 12  | 10           | 158                    | 4                    | 75                   | 248                                 |
| Pillars 2        | 10  | 13           | 147                    | 5                    | 115                  | 244                                 |
| Pots 1, 3 & 5    | 10  | 12           | 158                    | 5                    | 110                  | 234                                 |
| Pot 2            | 10  | 13           | 154                    | 5                    | 119                  | 251                                 |
| Pot 4            | 10  | 12           | 156                    | 5                    | 109                  | 230                                 |
| Pot 6 & posthorn | 10  | 13           | 144-148                | 5                    | 118                  | 249                                 |
| Pot 7            | Supplied as unruled paper: lines drawn individually |              |                        |                      |                      |                                     |
| Pot 8            | 9*  | 11.5         | Uncertain              | 5                    | 117                  | -                                   |
| Foolscap 1       | 12  | 11           | 160                    | 4                    | 81                   | 268                                 |
| Foolscap 2       | 10  | 11           | 157                    | 5                    | 106                  | 227                                 |

\* On a much-trimmed sheet which originally had 10 staves.

#### Column 4: Title

Jeffreys' own heading, if any, is given, together with the text incipits of vocal works.

#### Column 5: Voices/instruments

Voices are designated in the normal way: S for any C1 clef part, M for C2 clef; A, T, B. Basso continuo is 'bc'; other instruments are named in full.

#### Column 6: Dates

This column includes only the dates written by Jeffreys in the score apparently as the dates of composition of new pieces.

#### Column 7: Comments

Comments by Jeffreys, including dates for pieces being re-copied, are included here between inverted commas. Other observations include the division of Jeffreys' handwriting into a 'late' hand, found in works dated 1651 and later as well as in some undated works, and an 'early' hand, characteristic of works dated 1648 and 1649 and of the majority of the undated compositions.

Column 8: Autograph concordances

The order of the works in the autograph partbooks is given, in a separate series for each combination of voices: i.e. one-voice works in Lcm 920 are numbered 1 - 3, two-voice works 1 - 13, etc.

There are no autograph concordances for the instrumental and secular vocal music.

|   |                        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | Binder's mark          |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Folio                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Watermark              |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Title                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Instruments/<br>voices |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Date                   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Comments               |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Concordances           |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

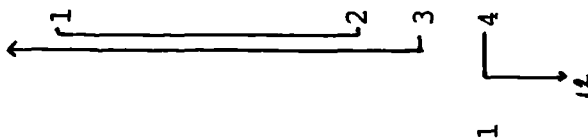
Unruled: 'The Italians use 4 words  
in their Vocall Musick to expresse  
their fancy

Presto speed to hasten the time  
Adagio slow to prolong  
Fortis strong to sing it louder  
Piano to sing softlier'

Fantasias of 3 parts for  
ye violles and virginall

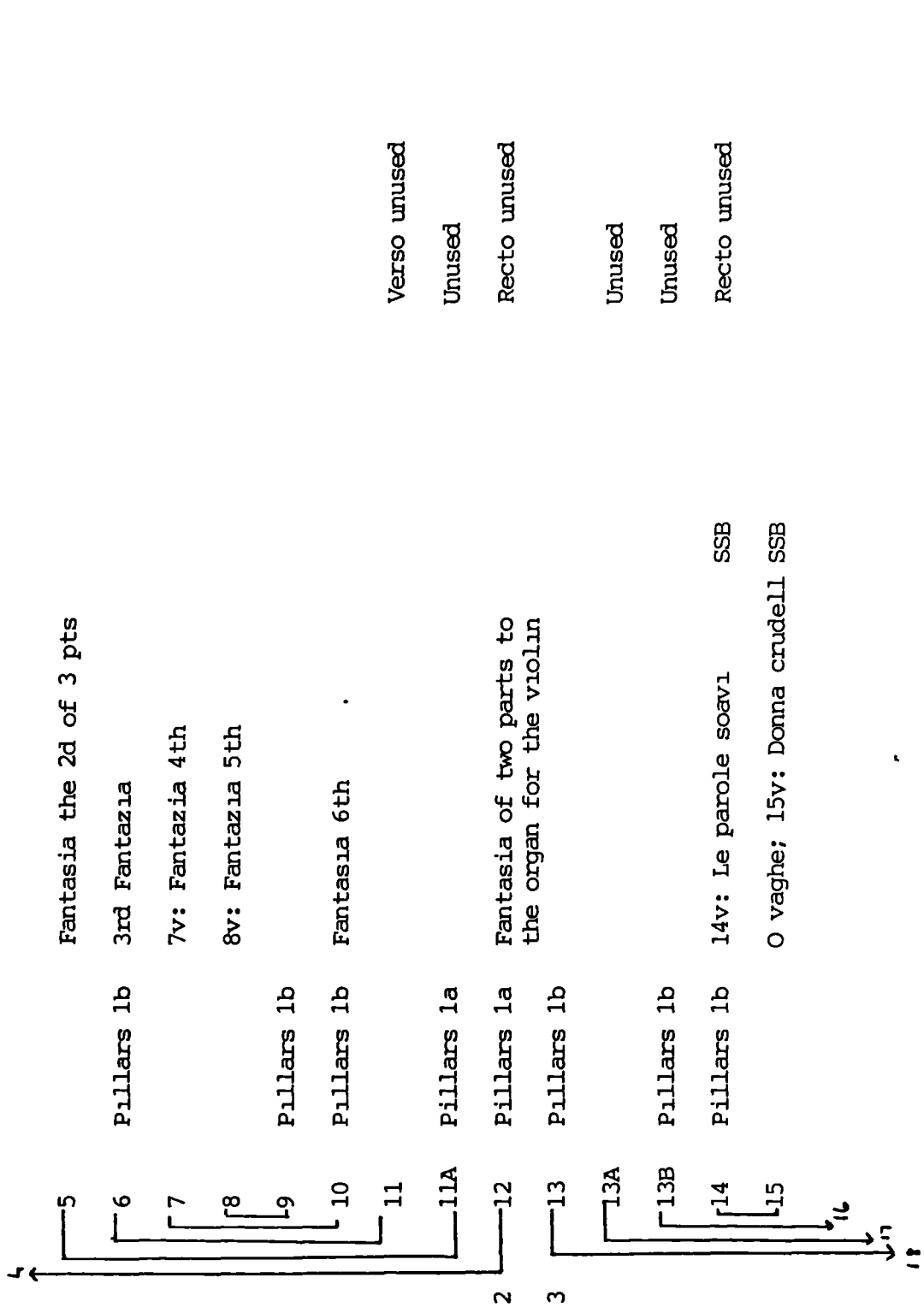
First music page

Pot 7b





1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8







1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

10 — 32D

11 — 33 Pot 4b

34

Pot 4b

35

36

Pot 4a

37

38

40

41

Pot 4b

43

44

You that have been this SATB bc  
evening's light

34v: Fond maydes

36v: Cupid blushes

38v: Hymen hath together  
tyed

Dialogue: Drowsy Phoebus SSB bc  
chorus 5w

Unused. Ruling confirms this is the  
other half of 29D

'Songs made for some comedyes. A 4  
voc. 1631 Sr. R. Hatton'

'Songs made for Dr Hausted's comedy  
called ye Rival Freinds acted  
before ye King & Queene an. 1631 19  
March.' MB xxxiii, 96.

| 1  | 2  | 3      | 4  | 5 | 6 | 7  | 8 |
|----|----|--------|--|---|---|--|---|
| 12 | 45 | Pot 4b | 45v: 2 song. Have pittty, S bc<br>greefe                               |   |   | 'This song was made for the comedy<br>but I think not sung'; <u>MB xxxiii</u> , 97.  |   |
|    | 46 |        | Cruell, but once again S bc<br>46v: Cupid, if a God 5vv bc<br>thou art |   |   | <u>MB xxxiii</u> , 98.   |   |
|    | 47 |        | 47v: To the ladyes joy 5vv bc  |   |   |  |   |
|    | 48 |        | 48v: But why do ye wing-<br>ed minutes fly 5vv bc                      |   |   |  |   |
|    | 49 | Pot 4a | 49v: Have you a desire 5vv bc<br>to see                                |   |   |  |   |
|    | 50 | Pot 4a |  |   |   |  |   |
|    | 51 | Pot 4a | 51v: Felice pastorella 5vv bc  |   |   |  |   |
| 13 | 52 |        |  |   |   | 51r: 'The dialogue Drowsy Phebus and<br>ye rest to this place were made to<br>and sung in Dr Hausted's unfortunate<br>comedy at Cambridge before ye Kinge<br>and Queene called ye Rivall Freinds.' |   |
| 14 | 53 | Pot 5b |  |   |   |  |   |
|    | 54 |        |  |   |   |  |   |
|    | 54 |        |  |   |   |  |   |
|    | 54 |        |  |   |   |  |   |

| 1  | 2       | 3      | 4                       | 5      | 6 | 7  | 8      |
|----|---------|--------|-------------------------|--------|---|--|--------|
| 15 | 55      | Pot 3b |                         |        |   | Verso unused   | Lm 920 |
|    | 56      | Pot 3b |                         |        |   | Unruled paper unlike any other in the MS; in Warren's pagination, however. |        |
|    | 56A-56F |        |                         |        |   |  |        |
|    | 57      |        | O tu unus deus          | TTB bc |   | Incomplete   | 42     |
|    | 58      |        |                         |        |   |  |        |
|    | 59      | Pot 5a |                         |        |   | Verso unused   |        |
|    | 59A     |        |                         |        |   | Unused   |        |
| 16 | 60      | Pot 3a | O quam suave            | B bc   |   | 'Mottects a 1 voc'. Early hand   | 2      |
|    | 61      |        | 6lv: Speciosus forma    | B bc   |   | Revision: 6lr  | 3      |
|    | 62      | Pot 3a | 104 Ps: Praise the Lord | B bc   |   | Late hand  | 1      |
|    | 63      |        | O my soule              |        |   |  |        |
|    | 63A     | Pot 3b |                         |        |   | Unused   |        |
|    | 63B     |        |                         |        |   | Unused   |        |
|    | 64      |        |                         |        |   |  |        |
|    | 65      |        |                         |        |   |  |        |



|    |    |        |  |       |   |   |                   |
|----|----|--------|--|-------|---|---|-------------------|
| 1  | 2  | 3      | 4  | 5     | 6 | 7 | 8                 |
| 20 | 75 |        | 75v: si diligitis me                               | TT bc |   |   | Lbl Add.<br>29282 |
|    | 76 | Pot 3a | 76v: Sive vigilem                                  | TT bc |   |   | Lcm 920           |
|    | 77 |        | 77v: Erit gloria                                   | TT bc |   |   | 4                 |
|    | 78 | Pot 3a | 78v: Domine deus                                   | TT bc |   |   | 5                 |
|    | 79 |        | 79v: Et ingrediar                                  | TT bc |   |   | 6                 |
|    | 80 | Pot 3b | 80v: Heu me misera:<br>Dialogue Maria &<br>Angelis | SB bc |   |   | 3                 |
|    | 81 |        |  |       |   |   | 7                 |
| 21 | 82 | Pot 3a |  |       |   |   | 8                 |
| 22 | 83 |        | O quam dulcis                                      | SB bc |   |   | 9                 |
|    | 84 |        | 84v: O panis angelorum                             | TB bc |   |   | 11                |
|    | 85 | Pot 3b | 85v: O nomen Jesu                                  | AB bc |   |   | 12                |
|    | 86 |        |  |       |   |   |                   |
|    | 87 |        |  |       |   |   |                   |
|    | 88 |        |  |       |   |   |                   |
|    | 89 |        |  |       |   |   |                   |
|    | 90 |        |  |       |   |   |                   |

In Cantiones Sacrae 1674



| 1  | 2  | 3      | 4   | 5      | 6      | 7   | 8                 |
|----|----|--------|---|--------|--------|---|-------------------|
|    | 86 |        | 86v: O pretiosum  | AB bc  |        |   | Lbl Add.<br>29282 |
|    | 87 | Pot 3b | 87v: Jesu, rex<br>admirabilis   | AB bc  |        |   | Lcm 920           |
|    | 88 |        |   |        |        |   | 10                |
|    | 89 | Pot 3b | With notes that are<br>both loud and sweet:<br>'For the ascension of<br>our bld. Saviour' | BB bc  |        | Late hand, finished on<br>extension; 'Mr Pett'. | 13                |
| 23 | 90 | Pot 3b |   |        |        |   | 2                 |
| 24 | 91 |        | 91v: Audite gentes  | AAB bc |        |   |                   |
|    | 92 | Pot 1b |   |        |        | Late hand                                       | 30                |
|    | 93 |        |   |        |        |   |                   |
|    | 94 | Pot 1b | Gloria tu manet   | ATB bc | 1658/9 |   | 31                |
|    | 95 |        |   |        |        |   | 3                 |
|    | 96 |        |   |        |        |   |                   |
|    | 97 |        |   |        |        |   |                   |
|    | 98 |        |   |        |        |   |                   |

| 1  | 2    | 3      | 4                                   | 5      | 6    | 7                | 8                 |
|----|------|--------|-------------------------------------|--------|------|------------------|-------------------|
|    | 96   | Pot 1b | 96v: Gloria Patri                   | ATB    |      | 96r: '1658-1659' | Lbl Add.<br>29282 |
|    | 97   |        | Florete flores                      | ATB bc | 1660 |                  | 2                 |
| 25 | 98   | Pot 1b |                                     |        |      |                  | 33 1              |
| 26 | 99   | Pot 3b | 99v: O piissime Domine              | ATB bc |      |                  | 34                |
|    | 100  |        |                                     |        |      |                  |                   |
|    | 101  |        | 101v: Salve coelestis               | ATB bc |      |                  | 35 5              |
|    | 102  | Pot 3b |                                     |        |      |                  |                   |
|    | 103  |        |                                     |        |      | Verso unused     |                   |
|    | 103A | Pot 3a |                                     |        |      | Recto unused     |                   |
|    | 104  | Pot 3a | 104v: Morning Hymn:<br>Glory to God | ATB bc | 1652 |                  | 7                 |
| 27 | 105  |        |                                     |        |      |                  |                   |

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Lam 920

|    |     |        |                                   |        |   |
|----|-----|--------|-----------------------------------|--------|---|
| 28 | 106 | Pot 2b | 106v: Unto thee O Lord            | TTB bc | 106r: 'Composed at Mr Peter Gunning's motion, May 1652.'    |
|    | 107 |        | 107v: 2nd part; Show me thy wayes | TTB bc | 106v: 'Mottects of 3 parts English and lattyn'; early hand. |
|    | 108 | Pot 2a | 108v: Heare my prayer             | TTB bc |   |
|    | 109 |        |                                   |        |   |
|    | 110 | Pot 2a | Sing unto the Lord                | TTB bc |   |
|    | 111 |        | 111v: Praise the Lord, O my soule | SSB bc |   |
|    | 112 | Pot 2b |                                   |        | 112v: Alleluia to 'Brightest sunne' (113) added.            |
| 29 | 113 |        | Epiphany: Brightest sunne         | TTB bc |   |
| 30 | 114 |        | 114v: Exurge, quare obdormis      | TTB bc |   |
|    | 115 | Pot 2a |                                   |        |   |
|    | 120 |        |                                   |        |   |

| 1  | 2   | 3      | 4                          | 5      | 6 | 7 | 8      |
|----|-----|--------|----------------------------|--------|---|---|--------|
|    | 116 | Pot 2a | O quam gloriosum           | AAB bc |   |   | Lm 920 |
|    | 117 | Pot 2a | 117v: Lapidabant Stephanum | TTB bc |   |   | 9      |
|    | 118 |        |                            |        |   |   | 10     |
|    | 119 |        | Et recordatus              | TTB bc |   |   |        |
|    | 120 |        | Beatus author              | TTB bc |   |   | 11     |
| 31 | 121 | Pot 2b | 121v: Jesu mi dulcissime   | TTB bc |   |   | 12     |
| 32 | 122 |        |                            |        |   |   |        |
|    | 123 | Pot 3a | 123v: Vere languores       | TTB bc |   |   | 13     |
|    | 124 |        | 124v: Nescio quid amore    | TTB bc |   |   |        |
|    | 125 |        | 125v: Utinam concessa      | TTB bc |   |   | 14     |
|    | 126 | Pot 3a | 126v: Nil canitur suavius  | TTB bc |   |   | 15     |
|    | 127 | Pot 3a | 127v: Ecce dilectus meus   | TTB bc |   |   | 16     |
|    | 128 |        |                            |        |   |   |        |
|    | 129 |        |                            |        |   |   |        |

|    |     |        |                        |        |   |   |         |
|----|-----|--------|------------------------|--------|---|---|---------|
| 1  | 2   | 3      | 4                      | 5      | 6 | 7 | 8       |
|    | 128 |        | 128v: Prior Christus   | TTB bc |   |   | Lcm 920 |
| 33 | 129 | Pot 2b | 129v: Domine Jesu      | TTB bc |   |   | 17      |
| 34 | 130 | Pot 2a |                        |        |   |   | 18      |
|    | 131 |        | Christo Jesu           | TTB bc |   |   |         |
|    | 132 | Pot 2a | Hosanna filio David    | TTB bc |   |   | 19      |
|    | 133 | Pot 2a | 133v: Heu mihi, Domine | TTB bc |   |   | 20      |
|    | 134 |        | 134v: Visa urbe        | TTB bc |   |   | 21      |
|    | 135 |        | 135v: Invocavi nomen   | SSB bc |   |   | 22      |
| 35 | 136 | Pot 2b |                        |        |   |   |         |
|    | 137 |        |                        |        |   |   |         |
| 36 | 138 |        | Jerusalem              | SSB bc |   |   | 23      |
|    | 139 |        | Domine, dominus noster | MAB bc |   |   | 24      |
|    | 144 |        |                        |        |   |   |         |
|    | 145 |        |                        |        |   |   |         |

| 1  | 2   | 3      | 4                      | 5      | 6         | 7   | 8                 |
|----|-----|--------|------------------------|--------|-----------|---|-------------------|
|    | 140 | Pot 2a |                        |        |           |   | Lbl Add.<br>29282 |
|    | 141 | Pot 2a | Caro mea               | MAB bc |           |   | Lcm 920           |
|    | 142 |        | 142v: Paratum cor meum | ATB bc | Nov. 1657 |   | 25                |
|    | 143 |        |                        |        |           | 142v: 'Some small things<br>altered in this song since<br>it was transcribed into my<br>bookes.' Late hand. | 27                |
|    | 144 | Pot 2b |                        |        |           |   |                   |
| 37 | 145 | Pot 2a | 145v: Quando natus est | ATB bc | Dec. 1657 |   | 29                |
| 38 | 146 |        |                        |        |           |   | 7                 |
|    | 147 |        |                        |        |           |   |                   |
|    | 148 |        | O Deus meus            | ATB bc |           |   | 26                |
|    | 149 | Pot 3b |                        |        |           |   |                   |
|    | 150 |        |                        |        |           |   |                   |
|    | 151 |        |                        |        |           |   |                   |
|    | 152 |        |                        |        |           |   |                   |
|    | 153 |        |                        |        |           |   |                   |

|    |   |        |                             |         |           |   |                   |
|----|---|--------|-----------------------------|---------|-----------|---|-------------------|
| 1  | 2   | 3      | 4                           | 5       | 6         | 7 | 8                 |
|    |   |        | 150v: O quam jucundum       | ATB bc  | Aug. 1658 |   | Lbl Add.<br>30829 |
|    | 150   |        |                             |         |           |   | Lcm 920           |
|    | 151   | Pot 3a |                             |         |           |   | 28                |
|    | 152   | Pot 3a |                             |         |           |   |                   |
|    | <p>152r: 'Mind that some of these later three parts are placed at ye beginning of ye 3 parts. And others of these 3's are placed next the songs of one voice for want of room.' 'Finis Aug 58'</p> <p>'Mind that some of these last Threes are placed before at ye beginning &amp; some before the 2 pt songs.'</p> <p>152 verso not used</p> |        |                             |         |           |   |                   |
| 39 | 153   | Pot 3b | 153v: What praise can reach | SATB bc |           |   | 16                |
| 40 | 154   |        |                             |         |           |   |                   |
|    | 162   |        |                             |         |           |   |                   |

[illegible]



|    |     |            |                         |         |      |  |                                       |
|----|-----|------------|-------------------------|---------|------|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1  | 2   | 3          | 4                       | 5       | 6    | 7  | 8                                     |
|    | 165 |            | 165v: O domine Deus     | ATTB bc |      |  | Lbl Add. 13<br>30829<br>Lcm 920A 1a , |
|    | 166 | Posthorn b |                         |         |      | 165r originally unused; now has<br>an alteration to 'O domine Deus'.<br>'This alteration belongs to the<br>following song 5 leaves forward.' |                                       |
|    | 167 |            |                         |         |      |  |                                       |
|    | 168 | Posthorn a |                         |         |      |  |                                       |
|    | 169 |            |                         |         |      |  |                                       |
| 43 | 170 | Pot 6a     |                         |         |      |  |                                       |
|    | 171 | Pot 7a     |                         |         |      | Not prepared music paper; lines<br>ruled singly as required. Same<br>watermark as folios 1-3.  |                                       |
|    | 172 | Pot 7b     | Turn thou us, good lord | ATTB bc | 1655 |  | 5a 14                                 |
|    | 173 |            |                         |         |      |  |                                       |
|    | 174 |            |                         |         |      |  |                                       |
|    | 175 |            |                         |         |      |  |                                       |
|    | 176 |            |                         |         |      |  |                                       |
|    | 177 |            |                         |         |      |  |                                       |
|    | 178 |            |                         |         |      |  |                                       |

|    |      |            |                     |         |      |   |   |                               |
|----|------|------------|---------------------|---------|------|---|---|-------------------------------|
| 1  | 2    | 3          | 4                   | 5       | 6    | 7 | 8 | Lbl Add.<br>30829<br>Lcm 920A |
|    | 175  | Pot 7a     |                     |         |      |   |   |                               |
|    | 176  | Pot 7a     |                     |         |      |   |   |                               |
|    | 176A |            |                     |         |      |   |   |                               |
|    | 176B |            |                     |         |      |   |   |                               |
| 44 | 177  |            | Turn thee again     | MATB bc | 1648 |   |   | 4a 12                         |
|    | 178  |            |                     |         |      |   |   |                               |
|    | 179  |            |                     |         |      |   |   |                               |
|    | 180  |            |                     |         |      |   |   |                               |
|    | 181  | Posthorn b | Quid comisist1 Jesu | SATB bc |      |   |   | 1                             |
|    | 182  | Posthorn b |                     |         |      |   |   |                               |
|    | 183  | Pot 6a     | Ego sum panis       | SMTB bc |      |   |   | 4                             |
| 45 | 184  | Pillars 2  |                     |         |      |   |   |                               |

|    |     |            |   |         |   |   |   |                   |
|----|-----|------------|---|---------|---|---|---|-------------------|
| 1  | 2   | 3          | 4   | 5       | 6 | 7 | 8   | Lbl Add.<br>30829 |
| 46 | 185 |            |   |         |   |   |   | Lcm 920A          |
|    | 186 | Foolscap 1 | 186v: Jubilate Deo<br>(altered beginning) | SATB bc |   |   | 186: inserted half-sheet. 186v:<br>'Altered the first pt Book.'   | 2                 |
|    | 187 | Pot 6b     | Jubilate Deo                              | SATB bc |   |   | 187r: 'I having heard something<br>too near this since I made it have<br>made some alteration according to<br>the beginning of this paper.' | 5                 |
|    | 188 | Posthorn b |   |         |   |   |   |                   |
|    | 189 |            |   |         |   |   |   |                   |
|    | 190 | Posthorn a | 190v: Amor Jesu                           | SATB bc |   |   |   | 3                 |
|    | 191 |            |   |         |   |   |   |                   |
|    | 192 |            |   |         |   |   |   |                   |
| 47 | 193 | Pot 6b     | O bone Jesu                               | SATB bc |   |   |   | 2                 |
| 48 | 194 | Pot 4b     |   |         |   |   |   |                   |
|    | 201 |            |   |         |   |   |   |                   |

|    |     |        |                               |         |      |  |                   |
|----|-----|--------|-------------------------------|---------|------|--|-------------------|
| 1  | 2   | 3      | 4                             | 5       | 6    | 7  | 8                 |
|    | 195 | Pot 4b |                               |         |      |  | Lbl Add.<br>30829 |
|    | 196 | Pot 4b | 196v: Audite celi             | MATB bc |      |  | Lcm 920A          |
|    | 197 | Pot 4b |                               |         |      |  | 6                 |
|    | 198 |        |                               |         |      |  |                   |
|    | 199 |        | 199v: Jesu dulcedo<br>cordium | SATB bc |      | At the end of this work in<br>Add. 17816, 'Finis Geo. Jeffreys'. | 7                 |
|    | 200 |        |                               |         |      |  |                   |
| 49 | 201 |        |                               |         |      |  |                   |
| 50 | 202 | Pot 4b |                               |         |      |  |                   |
|    | 203 | Pot 4b |                               |         |      |  |                   |
|    | 204 | Pot 4b | Te deum                       | ATTB bc | 1649 |  | 1                 |
|    | 205 | Pot 4b |                               |         |      |  | 8                 |
|    | 206 |        |                               |         |      |  |                   |
|    | 207 |        |                               |         |      |  |                   |
|    | 208 |        |                               |         |      |  |                   |
|    | 209 |        |                               |         |      |  |                   |

| 1  | 2                 | 3      | 4                              | 5       | 6    | 7         | 8                             |
|----|-------------------|--------|--------------------------------|---------|------|-----------|-------------------------------|
| 51 | 207<br>208<br>209 |        |                                |         |      |           | Lbl Add.<br>30829<br>Lcm 920A |
| 52 | 210               | Pot 4b |                                |         |      |           |                               |
|    | 211               | Pot 4b |                                |         |      |           |                               |
|    | 212               | Pot 4b |                                |         |      |           |                               |
|    | 213               | Pot 4b |                                |         |      |           |                               |
|    | 214               |        |                                |         |      |           |                               |
|    | 215               |        | 215v: Gloria Patri et<br>Filio | ATTB bc |      | Late hand | 9                             |
|    | 216               |        |                                |         |      |           |                               |
| 53 | 217               | Pot 4a | O quam jucundum                | ATTB bc | 1651 |           | 2a 10                         |
| 54 | 218               |        |                                |         |      |           |                               |
|    | 219               |        |                                |         |      |           |                               |

| 1  | 2   | 3      | 4                                 | 5        | 6    | 7  | 8                 |
|----|-----|--------|-----------------------------------|----------|------|--|-------------------|
|    | 219 |        |                                   |          |      |  | Lbl Add.<br>30829 |
|    | 220 |        |                                   |          |      |  | Lcm 920A          |
|    | 221 |        | 221v: Gloria Patri<br>qui creavit | ATTB bc  | 1651 |  | 6a 11             |
|    | 222 | Pot 4a |                                   |          |      |  |                   |
|    | 223 | Pot 4b | 223v: Glory be to God             | SATB     |      |  |                   |
|    | 224 | Pot 4a |                                   |          |      |  |                   |
| 55 | 225 | Pot 4a |                                   |          |      |  |                   |
| 56 | 226 | Pot 1b | Gloria in excelsis                | SSATB bc |      | 'Songs Mottects of 5 parts.'<br>Early hand | 1                 |
|    | 227 |        |                                   |          |      |  |                   |
|    | 228 | Pot 1b |                                   |          |      |  |                   |
|    | 229 | Pot 1a |                                   |          |      |  |                   |
|    | 230 |        | 230v: Bone Jesu                   | SSATB bc |      |  | 2                 |
|    | 231 |        |                                   |          |      |  |                   |
|    | 232 |        |                                   |          |      |  |                   |
|    | 233 |        |                                   |          |      |  |                   |
|    |     |        |                                   |          |      |  | 201               |

|    |     |        |   |          |   |   |                   |
|----|-----|--------|---|----------|---|---|-------------------|
|    |     |        |   |          |   |   | Lbl Add.<br>30829 |
| 1  | 2   | 3      | 4   | 5        | 6 | 7 | 8                 |
|    |     | Pot 1a |   |          |   |   |                   |
|    | 231 |        |   |          |   |   |                   |
|    | 232 |        |   |          |   |   |                   |
| 57 | 233 |        | 233v: For ye Nativity<br>of our most blessed<br>saviour: Hark hark,<br>sheapard swaynes . | SSATB bc |   |   | 4                 |
| 58 | 235 |        |   |          |   |   |                   |
|    | 236 |        |   |          |   |   |                   |
|    | 237 |        |   |          |   |   |                   |
|    | 238 |        |   |          |   |   |                   |
|    | 239 | Pot 1b | For the b'd Innocents<br>day: Bussie tyme   | SSATB bc |   |   | 5                 |
|    | 240 | Pot 1b |   |          |   |   |                   |
|    | 241 | Pot 1b |   |          |   |   |                   |
| 59 | 242 | Pot 1a | 242v: For the Epiphany:<br>Brightest of dayes   | SMATB bc |   |   | 6                 |

|    |     |        |                         |          |   |                            |          |
|----|-----|--------|-------------------------|----------|---|----------------------------|----------|
| 1  | 2   | 3      | 4                       | 5        | 6 | 7                          | 8        |
| 60 | 243 | Pot 1a | 246v: On the Passion of | SSATB bc |   | Extension adding Alleluia: | Lbl Add. |
|    | 244 | Pot 1b | our B. Saviour: Whisper |          |   | Foolscap 2                 | 30829    |
|    | 245 |        | it easily               |          |   |                            |          |
|    | 246 | Pot 1a |                         |          |   |                            |          |
|    | 247 |        |                         |          |   |                            |          |
|    | 248 |        |                         |          |   |                            |          |
|    | 249 |        |                         |          |   |                            |          |
| 61 | 250 | Pot 1b | 250v: For the Resurrec- | SSATB bc |   |                            |          |
|    |     |        | tion of our B. Saviour: |          |   |                            |          |
|    |     |        | Rise heart, thy Lord is |          |   |                            |          |
|    |     |        | risen                   |          |   |                            |          |
| 62 | 251 | Pot 1b |                         |          |   |                            |          |
|    | 252 | Pot 1a |                         |          |   |                            |          |
|    | 253 |        |                         |          |   |                            |          |
|    | 254 |        |                         |          |   |                            |          |
|    | 255 |        |                         |          |   |                            |          |
|    | 256 |        |                         |          |   |                            |          |
|    | 257 |        |                         |          |   |                            |          |
|    | 258 |        |                         |          |   |                            |          |



[illegible]

| 1  | 2   | 3      | 4   | 5                         | 6 | 7 | 8                 |
|----|-----|--------|---|---------------------------|---|---|-------------------|
|    | 266 | Pot 1a | 266v: Hosanna filio David                 | SSMATB bc                 |   |   | Lbl Add.<br>30829 |
| 65 | 267 | Pot 1b |   |                           |   |   | 10                |
| 66 | 268 | Pot 1b |   |                           |   |   |                   |
|    | 269 |        |   |                           |   |   |                   |
|    | 270 |        | 270v: A Musick strange:<br>for Whitsunday | SSATB bc &<br>instruments |   |   | 11                |
|    | 271 |        |   |                           |   |   |                   |
|    | 272 | Pot 3b |   |                           |   |   |                   |
|    | 273 | Pot 3a |   |                           |   |   |                   |
|    | 274 | Pot 3b |   |                           |   |   |                   |
| 67 | 275 |        |   |                           |   |   |                   |

271r: 'Instrument margens'. In the margin are 'instrument alone' parts for bars 3-5 of f.271r.

Unused

The binder's scheme extending throughout almost the whole volume would only have been necessary if a considerable quantity of music had already been copied at the time of binding. The one gathering omitted from the scheme, that consisting of originally unruled paper between binder's marks 43 and 44, gives a clue as to when the binding was carried out.

'Turn thou us, good Lord', written entirely on this gathering, is dated 1655; had the book been bound after that date, the gathering would have been included in the binder's scheme. It could have been bound even earlier, as the four-voice works between folios 153 and 176 were copied in that position only because the space originally allocated to 'Songs of 4 parts for the Church' had been filled, which happened with the addition of 'O quam jucundum' and 'Gloria Patri' in 1651. Jeffreys started 'O domine Deus' (f.165v) at the end of his three-voice section but did not allow enough space to finish it: he therefore had to add a quantity of other paper, which he appears to have taken from his supply of ordinary writing paper, as pots 7a and b occur in his 1649 letters to Lady Hatton, Lbl Add.29550 folios 91-94. Probably he realised that the shortage of space would continue to be a problem, as he provided more paper than was immediately needed, and was therefore able to copy 'Turn thou us, good Lord' onto the new gathering at a later date. That this is the true order of copying, and that Jeffreys did not simply work backwards through the score, is confirmed by the order of the four-voice works in Lbl Add. 30829-30 and 17816, where 'O domine Deus' is no. 13, after 'Turn

thee again' of 1648 (no. 12) and before 'Turn thou us, good Lord' (no. 14). We do not know, of course, how long before 1655 'O domine Deus' was copied, but the use of the 1649 writing paper to complete it suggests an earlier rather than a later date.

It is thus established that Add.10338 was bound certainly before 1655 and probably before 1651, when a considerable quantity of its music had already been copied. From the amount of music added after 1655, however, and the number of unused folios which still remain, it is evident that Jeffreys also instructed the binder to include gatherings of unused paper in particular positions, so that further work could be included in a systematic way. The headings of the sacred music sections, 'Mottects a 1 voc.' and so on, which are all in the early hand and all except one on the first folio of a gathering, show how he expected his score to be organized; it is interesting to observe how differently it actually developed.

When the volume was bound, the greater part of it consisted of two main types of ruled paper, one marked with pots 1 and 3, with a few sheets of pot 5, and the other marked with pot 2, clearly contemporary as it is sometimes found in the same gathering as pot 3. There were two major exceptions: a substantial quantity of paper between binder's marks 42 and 47 with the posthorn and pot 6 marks, and the paper marked with pot 4. This was used between marks 11 and 13 for secular music and from 48 to 55 to complete the dated series of four-voice sacred works beginning, on posthorn/pot 6 paper, at mark 42. The dates for this series,

1648-1651, seem to be the earliest in the score to refer to newly-composed rather than re-copied pieces. But by no means all of the four-voice sacred works are dated: it seems strange that Jeffreys should have so meticulously recorded the dates of some works but not of others.

The year 1648, when the dated series begins, was one of great significance for Jeffreys. The execution of the King on 30 January 1648 (old style) was a deeply shocking event for his supporters, and at the same time the consequences of defeat involved Jeffreys in personal unpleasantness of a more mundane kind: his negotiations with Barkstead (see above) involved a dispute over who was to pay for a new latrine constructed at Hatton House for the use of the soldiers, and Jeffreys clearly felt that Barkstead used the threat of 'accidental' damage caused by his troops as a lever to compel him to pay on Lady Hatton's behalf. The first four-voice piece in the score, a setting of verses from Psalm 80, seems to have been composed in response to the national and personal circumstances in which Jeffreys found himself:

Turn thou again, O Lord God of Hosts  
 Shew the light of thy countenance upon us, and we shall  
 be whole.  
 O Lord God of Hosts, how long wilt thou be angry with  
 thy people that prayeth?  
 Thou givest them plenteousness of teares to drink.  
 [Turn thou again: repeat]  
 Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt,

Thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it,  
 Thou madest room for it, and when it had taken root,  
 it filled the land.

The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the  
 boughs thereof were like the goodly cedar trees.

Why hast thou broken down her hedge, that all they that  
 go by pluck off her grapes?

Turn thou again, O Lord God of Hosts; shew the light  
 of thy countenance upon us and we shall be whole.

This is no early work; it is substantially longer than most of the subsequent four-voice pieces and effectively uses the opening section as a refrain in the middle and at the end. In Lbl Add. 30829-30 and 17816 it is placed at no.12, after the 1649 Te Deum and the motets of 1651, and in Lcm 920A it is fourth in a series of six four-voice works consisting of the latest dated examples from the score. Nos. 2-8 of the four-voice pieces in the score, up to but not including the Te Deum of 1649, are found in Lbl Add. 30829-30 and 17816 as nos. 1-7, in a different order. In both sources, however, the last of the seven is 'Jesu dulcedo cordium', at the end of which in Add. 17816 Jeffreys has written 'Finis Geo. Jeffreys'. Probably these seven works were copied into the partbooks as the whole of Jeffreys' four-voice music thus far composed, were included in the score as re-copied rather than newly composed works, and for that reason were not dated. The relationship between the revisions made in the score and the readings found in the partbooks supports this suggestion.

The dated anthem of 1648, 'Turn thee again', has a major

revision in the score at the words 'and we shall be whole' in the opening section. The amended version resolves a dissonant b flat (transferred from the second tenor to the first tenor part) a minum earlier and removes a clash between a c natural in the resolving part and a c sharp in the bass; the altered resolution necessitates a change in the alto part, which originally moved in sixths with the second tenor. Add. 30829-30 and 17816 contain only the revised versions of the tenor and bass parts; possibly the lost treble book contained something better than the unimaginative and grammatically incorrect emendation in the score. The other parts, however, make it clear that the original version of the music was never copied into them; the parts of 'Turn thee again' were copied from the revised version of the score (see music examples 1 and 2 below). Revised versions from the score are the only readings found in the parts of two other dated works, the 1649 Te deum and the 1651 'Gloria Patri qui creavit'. Amongst the dated pieces, only 'O quam jucundum' has parts which follow the score's original rather than revised reading, and there is no reason why the revision of this work should not have been made later than the others. In general the revised versions of the dated works are the ones copied into the partbooks.

The same is not true of the two undated motets which contain major alterations, 'O bone Jesu' and 'Jubilate Deo'. In 'O bone Jesu' the original version in the score corresponds with the partbooks, to which the revised version has not been transferred (see music examples 3 and 4 below).

Example 1

'Turn thee again': original version

Example 2

'Turn thee again': revised version

\* d in Add.30830



## Example 3

'O bone Jesu': original version

[seu]la, se-cu-lo rum

reg nas De-us, per om-ni-a

reg nas De-us

se-cu-la se-cu-lo rum

## Example 4

'O bone Jesu': revised version

[seu]la se-cu-lo-rum

reg nas De-us per omni-a

reg nas De-us qui [vivi]s

se-cu-la se-cu-lo-rum

An altered section of 'Jubilare Deo' is written out separately in score and parts alike, in contrast to the revisions in the dated pieces, which are generally the only versions found in the partbooks. Thus the suggestion that the seven motets from 'Quid comisisti' to 'Jesu dulcedo cordium' were copied from the partbooks into Add.10338, but that works bearing dates from 1648 onwards were copied from the score into the parts, receives strong support from the variant readings of the two sources.

The three partbooks, Lbl Add.30829-30 and 17816, are the survivors of a set containing Jeffreys' music for four and five voices and continuo. They are the only Jeffreys autograph to retain the original covers, of gilded white leather, and their cut edges and heavy, high-quality paper set them apart from all of the other autographs except the voice parts of Lcm 920, which, like Add. 30829 and its companions, are in upright quarto. The watermark of the British Library set is largely concealed, but can be identified as a peacock similar in general pattern to Heawood 172 (Venice 1651) and 174 (Venice 1628). A similar mark is found in one of the organ parts of the North family collection, Ob MS Mus. Sch. c.98a.<sup>39</sup>

The high quality of the partbooks and the nature of the music they contain make it unlikely that Jeffreys began to copy them in troubled times. All of the undated four-voice motets except 'Audite coeli' are for SATB and continuo, but most of the four-voice music either dated or likely to have been composed after 1648 is for ATTB and requires no trebles. The late three-voice

pieces likewise avoid the treble voice. Probably not only the undated four-voice motets, but also the undated five-voice works, were composed well before 1648 and included in these fine partbooks at a time when such music was likely to have been performable, perhaps during the early years of the Civil War when Jeffreys was at Oxford. The new pieces of 1648 and 1649 were added to the partbooks in roughly chronological order, but why is 'Turn thee again' at the beginning of the four-voice section of the score?

It seems certain that Jeffreys began a new score of four-voice anthems and motets in 1648 (old style), possibly in February or March after his return to Northamptonshire, which he mentions in his letter of 8 February (Lbl Add.29550 folios 93-94). The book begins with a new work, 'Turn thee again', which reflects the current mood of the defeated Royalists, and is significantly headed 'Songs of 4 parts.For the Church', the only title in which Jeffreys mentions 'the Church' by name. The earlier part of the score, into which he copied his existing four-voice music from his partbooks, consists of posthorn/pot 6 paper, but some pot 4 gatherings had been added by 1649, the date of the Te Deum. It is possible that the binding of the whole of Add. 10338 took place between 1649 and 1651, and that the difference between the early and late hands is partly caused by the difficulty of writing in a large bound volume.

The pot 4 paper is also used between binder's marks 11 and 13, where the Hatton and Hausted songs and the beginning of 'Felice Pastorella' are copied. These are all in the late hand, and the

many marginal notes, contemporary with the music copying, confirm that they are retrospective copies. The ascriptions to Sir R. Hatton (knighted 1645) and Dr Hausted (created D.D. in 1642) rule out an earlier date, but in any case the use of paper identical with that found in sacred music dated 1649-51 and the appearance of the late hand suggest that the copying was carried out after 1650.

Almost all of the rest of the score consists of paper marked with pots 1,2 and 3. This is used both in the secular vocal section and in the sacred music for one, two, three and five voices for many undated pieces in the early hand. If it is true that the undated four-voice works were composed before 1648, the same presumably applies to undated music of other kinds, a conclusion which in fact fits the available evidence very well. In the five-voice section, 'The Lord in thy adversity', f.259, is the last early-hand work in the score, but it appears third in the apparently pre-1648 set of parts Add. 30829-30 and 17816, and it is hard to imagine what opportunities there would have been for the performance of such ambitious music during the Commonwealth. Jeffreys avoided the use of even a single treble voice in most of his dated music between 1648 and 1662, so it is unlikely that he would at the same time have composed another, undated, series requiring two trebles.

Many of the two- and three-voice works in the early hand have two parts notated in the tenor clef, but like a great deal of Italian printed music, or Jeffreys' own 'Coy Caelia', they

could equally well be performed by two trebles. There is only one late two-voice work, 'With notes that are both loud and sweet', f.89, for the hitherto neglected combination of two basses and continuo. This work belongs to the late 1650s at the earliest, as it is completed on a pasted-in extension, presumably because the following series of late three-voice works had already been copied. 'Mr Pett', whose name appears at the beginning of the piece, may be Peter Pett, Fellow of All Souls from 1648 and ultimately Advocate-General of Ireland.<sup>40</sup> Wood refers to his joining with Sir Kenelm Digby and others in entertaining the violinist Davis Mell in Oxford in 1657.<sup>41</sup> He was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1658.<sup>42</sup>

Most of Jeffreys' latest dated music in the score belongs to a series of fourteen three-voice works dated 1657-1662, all but one for ATB and continuo. The presence of so many works for the same combination of voices, and the apparent increase in his musical activity, suggest that Jeffreys was now writing for a practical purpose and for a known group of performers. The impetus for the new period of composition could have come from the return of Lord Hatton from Paris in 1657, and the music could have been performed at the services of Anglican congregations like the one led by Peter Gunning at Exeter House; most of the late three-voice works are Latin, and avoid the mystical extremes of English devotional poetry found in some of the five-voice compositions. After 1660, of course, all of this music could have been more widely useful.

The two late-hand works at the end of the five-voice section, 'Hosanna filio David' and 'A musick strange', are both large-scale pieces which reflect the re-establishment of Anglican choral services and choirs with trebles. 'A musick strange' has generally been dated 1669 (though not by E.T. Warren on f.1v of the score) on the basis of the date written at the end, which I believe to be 1662. The ambitious 'Hosanna filio David' in six parts was presumably composed not long before 'A musick strange', and it is not over-fanciful to suggest that just as 'Turn thee again' was an expression of Royalist gloom in 1649, 'Hosanna filio David' refers to Charles II and celebrates the Restoration.

The difference between the paper used by Jeffreys from 1648 to 1651 and that found in most of the rest of the score leads to the conclusion that the present four-voice section, beginning with a work composed in 1648 (old style), is a replacement for an earlier score, lost or destroyed, that corresponded with the rest of the pot 1, 2 and 3 material. The undated, early-hand music had almost certainly been composed by 1648, and in all probability much of it was already copied into the gatherings now in Add.10338. The loss of the four-voice section suggests that the gatherings were not bound into a single volume, but that there were a number of separate scores: the lost four-voice one; the gatherings between binder's marks 16 and 27 for one- and two-voice music (the two-voice section begins in mid-gathering); from 28 to 43 for three-voice music, and from 56 to 67 for five. Gatherings between marks 5 and 10 might have been combined with the pillars gatherings

from mark 1 to mark 4 to form a book of secular music.

As Jeffreys is known to have composed a considerable quantity of music for the stage in the 1630s, there is no reason why some of the sacred music should not date from the same period, when there is evidence of his having taken an interest in Italian church music. His large collection of Italian sacred music (see Ch. X) is in partbooks, clearly intended for performance rather than study: as far as can be ascertained, most of the music is indirectly derived from Italian prints published no later than 1638. During the 1630s Jeffreys may have collected Italian music in a score, perhaps the 'other score booke' to which he refers in Add.10338. A set of parts consisting of four sheets only, now Ob MS Mus. Sch. c.204 folios 46-49, has Edward Lowe's note '4 Papers of an Italian's Latin Song O dulcis Jesu wch I had of Mr Jeffreys',<sup>43</sup> and contains a three-voice 'O dulcis Jesu' and Ave Jesu' by Abundio Antonelli:<sup>44</sup> the set is copied in Jeffreys' early hand on pillars paper typical of English use and has his autograph comment 'I received this song wth other from Rome the 11th of Novemb. 1634 wth directions to sing them a slow tyme'. No doubt some of Jeffreys' own compositions date from the 1630s as well.<sup>45</sup>

In or shortly after 1648, then, Jeffreys seems to have thought it appropriate to bring together his complete works, in existing or newly-made copies, and have them bound in a single large volume with space for a limited number of additions. The fact that he made so little provision for further four-voice music suggests

that he did not expect to compose very much in the near future, and it was not until 1657, perhaps as a result of Lord Hatton's return to England, that he embarked upon a major series of new compositions, almost exclusively for ATB and continuo. By then, however, he had already composed more than he had anticipated when the volume was bound, and although most of his later music is included in Add.10338, much of it is in positions not originally assigned to its particular combination of voices.

Watermarks and paper (see illustrations I, II, V-XI, XV, XVIII, XXXIII)

The dates written into the score, which suggest that the four-voice music is its earliest material, do not give a true impression of its history, as the paper forming this section, with the post-horn, pot 6 and pot 4 marks, is the latest to have been used in the main structure of the score. The relatively small size of pot 6 (watermark X) shows that Stevenson's observation that later pots are larger than earlier ones does not hold good in every case,<sup>46</sup> although its general truth is illustrated by pot 4 (watermark VIII), which is similar in size to watermark XIII from Ob MS Mus.Sch. d.220, dated 1654. The pot watermarks in Add. 10338 may be compared with those in the masque music section of Lbl Add. 10444 (c.1624: see watermark IV and Ch. IX).

The dates in the four-voice section range from 1648 to 1651, but the Te Deum beginning on f.204, copied entirely on pot 4 paper,



is dated 1649. 'Turn thee again', f.177, shows that the posthorn/pot 6 paper was available by early 1649; the rest of the paper in the score, apart from the unruled additions and other insertions, was already in Jeffreys' possession. The manuscript therefore provides a cross-section of the types of small music paper available in the late 1640s and earlier. The pot and pillars marks are typical of Normandy, and although posthorn marks were also used in the Angoumois, the posthorn paper in Add.10338 came from the Durand mill near Maisoncelles-le-Jourdain in Normandy.<sup>47</sup> The pillars 1 and pot 1,2 and 3 paper in Add.10338 could well date from c.1640: similar pot and pillars marks are found in Lbl Add.18940-44, which contain music from the masque The Triumph of Peace (1634).<sup>48</sup>

Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. d.220

(Watermark XIII)

Music School manuscript d.220 is the bass part only of a very large anthology of two-part instrumental music, described thus on the fine calligraphic title page in red and black ink:

Pavanes Galliardes Ayres Almains Coranto's Sarabands  
Moriscas Maskes & Contry-Dances. Composed occasionally  
by Excellent moderne Musick-Masters; and now Methodic-  
ally digested into they're proper & distinct Keys. For  
the Bass and Treble Violls. Bassus 1654

The music is of a similar kind to that contained in Playford's two-part publications of 1651, 1655 and 1662,<sup>49</sup> with all of which d.220 has concordances, but the manuscript collection is on a far larger scale, containing over five hundred pieces. Like the Playford Court Ayres of 1655, it groups the pieces according to their keys, and the first opening of each section is finely labelled in red ink, for example 'Ayres in Gamut for Two Parts'.

On the cover is the name 'Beaumont Hastings' and the stamped initials 'H.W.'. The book did not belong to the Music School in the seventeenth century, so it is unremarkable that Hastings cannot be identified as an Oxford student; the volume is included neither in the 1682 inventory of Music School holdings nor in the lists made by Richard Goodson in the early eighteenth century.<sup>50</sup> A list

of books purchased from 'J. Mcfarland' on p.182 and the final fly-leaf is dated '2 Sept 1736', which suggests that d.220 was still in private hands at that time; the inclusion of a work identified as 'Cockburn's Gonoreah' in the list perhaps indicates that the owner was a physician.<sup>51</sup> The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians, however, does not contain the name Beaumont Hastings, or anyone who could be represented by 'H.W.'.<sup>52</sup>

The collection is impressive not merely on account of its sheer size, but because of the variety of major and minor composers represented in it: a thematic index is given in Appendix 1 below. Named or identifiable composers familiar from other sources are Charles Coleman, William Lawes and John Jenkins, who contribute the greater part of the collection, and Christopher Simpson. Most of the less distinguished composers served at some stage in the King's Music: John Adson, who died in 1640; John Atkinson, sometimes known as Atkyns, who was appointed a musician for the violins in 1660 and died in 1671; the long-lived violinist Ambrose Beeland (fl. 1624-72); Philip Becket, appointed to the private music in 1660, and John Gamble, who published vocal music in the late 1650s and was appointed to the King's band of wind instruments in 1660.<sup>53</sup> George Hudson, Theophilus Lupo and the famous violinist Davis Mell (1604-1662) had all served Charles I, and an earlier generation appears to be represented by John Maynard (1577-after 1614), some of whose music is in Lbl Add. 10444, c.1624 (see Ch. IX). John Mercure, also represented in Lbl Add. 10337, was another of Charles I's musicians, but was replaced at the Restoration by Stephen Nau,

probably the 'Monsieur Noe' of this source, and John Taylor (fl. 1637-45) was also apparently dead by 1660.

Other composers do not appear to have been in Royal service, and their identities are harder to establish. They include Richard Cooke, identifiable from concordances in Playford's 1655 print and Ob MSS Mus.Sch.e.410-14, who also composed some fantasias in Ob MSS Mus.Sch.e.406-9 (see below), a set of parts which belonged to the North family. Thomas Pratt, who is also represented in Playford's 1662 publication, was entertained by Anthony Wood at Oxford in 1658: he and John Gamble are described as 'two eminent musitians of London'.<sup>54</sup> 'Mr Barrat', 'Mr Sheppie', 'Mar. Wright' and 'Mr Sebastian' remain obscure.

The similarities in content and organization between this source and Playford's Court Ayres of 1655 point to some kind of relationship between them, and the wording of the title page of Playford's 1662 print is remarkably similar to that of d.220:

Courtly Masquing Ayres, containing Almaines, Ayres,  
Sarabands, Morisco's Jiggs & c of two parts Treble and  
Bass for viols or violins. Composed by several excellent  
masters ... Treble London ... 1662

Neither the 1655 nor the 1662 print, however, is simply a selection of the music found in d.220, and the fine presentation of the manuscript suggests that it was a commissioned piece of work for a private individual rather than a publisher's repository of material

for future use. Nevertheless, there are enough similarities to indicate that d.220 originated in the London musical circle of John Playford, and was possibly copied by a scribe working for him.

#### Watermarks and paper (see illustration XIII)

The 89 music folios of d.220, identified by the original pagination scheme, consist of a single type of pot paper with a pair of marks lettered 'MLV', perhaps made by a member of the Vaullegard family.<sup>55</sup> The folios measure c.284 mm. x 184 mm. and are cut all round, with traces of colour on all edges. There are ten staves, 12 mm. x 150 mm., ruled with a five-stave rastrum: the measurement over five staves is 109.5 mm. and over ten, c.231 mm. The distribution of watermarks is shown in Table II below.

The pair of pot marks in d.220 is amongst the latest to be found in an English music source, and the date of the volume, 1654, is an accurate guide to the date of use of the paper. Compared with most of the pots in Add.10338 the d.220 pots show the tendency observed by Stevenson for pots to become larger as the century progresses.<sup>56</sup> One of the chain lines of the 'a' mould, to the right of the mark, is broken throughout.

The whole of d.220 is in the same neat and meticulous hand, which, together with the elegant presentation of the title page, suggests that the volume was professionally copied. The similarities in the wording of the title page, organization and content between

d.220 and Playford's 1655 and 1662 prints suggests that the manuscript might have been commissioned from Playford to provide a more extensive collection of music than was available in any existing or projected publication. Compared with Playford's movable-type prints, moreover, d.220 is easier to read and consists of more durable paper. The strong possibility that d.220 was supplied by John Playford in turn suggests that in 1654 he still considered Norman pot of good quality the best available manuscript paper of its size.

TABLE II

Ob MS Mus.Sch.d.220

## Distribution of watermarks: music pages

|     |   |     |   |     |   |
|-----|---|-----|---|-----|---|
| 1   | - |     |   |     |   |
| 3   | - |     |   |     |   |
| 5   | a | 63  | - | 123 | a |
| 7   | a | 65  | a | 125 | a |
| 9   | b | 67  | a | 127 | - |
| 11  | - | 69  | a | 129 | - |
| 13  | - | 71  | - | 131 | a |
| 15  | - | 73  | a | 133 | a |
| 17  | a | 75  | - | 135 | - |
| 19  | a | 77  | b | 137 | b |
| 21  | a | 79  | - | 139 | b |
| 23  | - | 81  | a | 141 | - |
| 25  | b | 83  | - | 143 | a |
| 27  | - | 85  | a | 145 | - |
| 29  | b | 87  | b | 147 | - |
| 31  | - | 89  | - | 149 | a |
| 33  | a | 91  | b | 151 | - |
| 35  | a | 93  | a | 153 | b |
| 37  | - | 95  | - | 155 | b |
| 39  | - | 97  | - | 157 | - |
| 41  | b | 99  | a | 159 | a |
| 43  | - | 101 | - | 161 | - |
| 45  | - | 103 | b | 163 | - |
| 47  | a | 105 | - | 165 | a |
| 48b | - | 107 | b | 167 | - |
| 49  | a | 109 | - | 169 | - |
| 51  | - | 111 | a | 171 | - |
| 53  | - | 113 | - | 173 | b |
| 55  | - | 115 | a | 175 | - |
| 57  | - | 117 | - | 177 | b |
| 59  | - | 119 | - | 179 | a |
| 61  | b | 121 | - | 181 | a |
| 63  | - |     |   |     |   |

lost w/m folio

lost w/m folio

64

Bodleian Library MSS Mus. Sch. e.406-409

(Watermarks XXIV, XXV)

Music School manuscripts e.406-9 are a set of parts containing music by John Jenkins for treble, two basses and organ, consisting of twenty-seven fantasias and one pavan,<sup>57</sup> and four fantasias for similar instrumentation by Richard Cooke, some of whose other music appears in Ob MSS Mus.Sch.d.220 and e.410-14. With the exception of the Jenkins fantasias nos. 2,3 and 5, which also occur in Mus.Sch.c.64-69 and Eire-Dm Z.3.4. 7-12, the contents of this source appear to be unique.

The four books belong to a large collection bought for the Music School from Anthony Wood in 1667.<sup>58</sup> A paper recording the purchase was pasted to the wall of the Music School, and about a hundred years later Hawkins transcribed as much of it as was still legible:

Sets of choice books for instrumental music, 11 whereof are the composition of Mr John Jenkins for 2,3,4,5 & 6 parts for the organ or harpsecon, and six sets more composed by Mr Lawes, Coperario, Mr Brewer and Orlando Gibbons, all bought of Mr Wood which cost £22. 0. 0.

This collection is thought to have originated in the household of the North family at Kirtling in Cambridgeshire, and is now Ob MSS Mus.Sch.c.81-91, c.98 a & b, c.99 a & b, c.100 a & b,



c.101 a & b and e.406-9. The last is the only set of North parts to bear a date, 1654. Apart from its importance as a section of the North family music collection, its string parts (e.407-409) contain the earliest dated example of an Angoumois foolscap mark, indeed of any type of mark from that area, in an English music source.

Watermarks and paper (see illustrations XXIV, XXV)

The upright quarto string parts measure 210 mm. x 155 mm. and have eight staves, 11 mm. x 127 mm., ruled with a four-stave rastrum measuring 76 mm. The measurement over eight staves is 163 mm. The limited length of the staves is conspicuous, and the awkwardness for copyist and performer caused by having a large number of relatively short staves is no doubt a major reason for the limited use of the upright quarto format in small music books. The oblong quarto organ book, e.406, is exceptionally large for a music book, measuring 233 mm. x 327 mm: some deckels survive, mainly on the outer edges. There are eight six-line staves, 12 mm. x 267 mm., ruled with a four-stave rastrum: the measurement over four staves is 83.5 mm.; over eight, c.177 mm.

As the string parts are in upright quarto, the watermarks are largely concealed, but enough is visible to confirm that they are fairly symmetrical foolscaps similar in general pattern to the Angoumois marks found in Lbl Add.30488-90 and Add.33234.

On many folios only the extremities of the foolscap can be seen, as illustrated, but in places, such as e.407 f.44, five points can just be discerned at the edge of the folio in positions which suggest that the foolscap has seven points.

The organ part is easier to deal with. The chain lines are extremely widely spaced, and the fleur-de-lys mark itself differs from the typical Angoumois pattern found in music sources from the late 1660s onwards, such as Ob MSS Mus.Sch.c.54-57. Conspicuous differences are the attenuated lobes of the fleur-de-lys, its contact with the shield on both sides, and the simple formation of the lower part of the crown. A pair (not illustrated) can be distinguished by a slightly different shape of the shield.

# British Library Additional Manuscript 10337

(Watermarks XIV, XXIII)

British Library Add. MS 10337,<sup>59</sup> described by Reese as 'one of the last collections of real virginal music',<sup>60</sup> is inscribed on f.1v 'Elizabeth Rogers hir virginall booke February ye 27 1656'. Beneath, a table of contents in the same hand suggests that by February 1656 (old style) the book was bound in its present form. Elizabeth Fayre, whose name also appears on f.1 and whose initials are stamped on the binding, is presumably the same person as Elizabeth Rogers, about whom nothing has so far been discovered.

The keyboard music in Add.10337 includes many arrangements of other kinds of music,<sup>61</sup> and ranges from almaynes by Robert Johnson (folios 10v, 27v) and the Byrd 'Battaile' (11v-17v)<sup>62</sup> to identifiable masque music (e.g. folios 4v,5), texted keyboard versions of continuo songs, such as 'Cloris sighed' (f.21v), and arrangements of ballads such as 'When the King enjoys his own again' (f.5v). There is also a completely separate series of secular and sacred songs, written with the volume reversed in a different hand from most of the keyboard music, and almost certainly completed some years after the book was bound and the table of contents compiled in or before February 1657. The volume is clearly a household music book which provides an insight into the relationship between performances on the largest scale, such as The Triumph of Peace, and popular or domestic music-making: Table IV at the end of the chapter shows how many of the keyboard

pieces in Add.10337 exist in different arrangements and as broadside ballads.

Because the volume contains two series of music, two different hands and two distinct types of paper, one with pot watermarks and six-line staves and the other with hat marks and five-line staves, the first impression is that two originally separate books have been combined, perhaps when a Fayre-Rogers marriage took place. But this explanation does not account for the complex relationship of hand, paper and content in the middle of the book, summarised in the table below:

Table III

| Folio                            | Page<br>(original) | Content                      | Hand |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|------|
| 1                                | [1]                | Keyboard music               | A    |
| Pot<br>paper<br>6-line<br>staves | ↓<br>[62]          | (Reversed) Keyboard<br>music | B    |
| 34                               | [68]               |                              |      |
| 35                               | [71]               | (Reversed) Vocal music       | B    |
| Hat<br>paper<br>5-line<br>staves | 76<br>↓<br>91      | Keyboard music               | A    |
| ↓<br>59                          |                    | (Reversed) Vocal music       | B    |

From p.76 (f.37v), keyboard music in hand A is written on five-line staves to which a sixth line has been added separately. A series of keyboard pieces in hand B, however, occupies the last six folios of the six-line stave paper. The table of contents on f.lv lists only the keyboard music in hand A and refers to the pagination scheme, which is found only on pages written in hand A and has a gap between p.62 and p.76. The unnumbered pages between folios 32 and 37 correspond exactly to the gap in the original pagination, which leads to the conclusion that whatever, if anything, was written there, folios 32-37 and the end-paper between f.34 and f.35 were in their present position by February 1657. Possibly they were then unused, and the copyist intended to add a further series of keyboard pieces at a later date.

Hand A, the principal keyboard hand, is neat and professional in appearance and has copied the earliest music, including the pieces by Byrd and Johnson. Hand A also copied several dances by Mercure (fl. 1640-50)<sup>63</sup> and 'Lupus', presumably Theophilus Lupo who was one of the King's musicians from 1628 and was replaced in 1660. 'Beare' has been identified as the French composer Joseph de la Barre (1633-1678)<sup>64</sup> but the identity of Thomas Strengthfeild is still unknown. Hand A's contributions cannot be very much earlier than 1657: the text of 'When the King enjoys his own again', by Martin Parker, was written in 1643,<sup>65</sup> and many titles, such as 'Sir Tho.Ffairfax March', clearly refer to personalities of the Civil War. Many of the ballad tunes were published

in various arrangements in the 1650s and the text of 'Lie still, my deare' is found in Cotgrave's Wit's Interpreter of 1655.<sup>66</sup> Hand A also copied Laniere's 'I wish noe more', first published in 1652, on f.41v.

Concordances with the music copied by hand B suggest that he (or she) worked at a slightly later period; unlike A, B appears to have been an amateur. Nothing in hand B was published before 1659, and several other concordances are with John Gamble's commonplace book Drexel 4257, also dated 1659,<sup>67</sup> although the identified composers 'Mr Balles' (fl. 1613-1635)<sup>68</sup>, Thomas Brewer (1611-c.1659), N. Laniere (1588-1666) and John Wilson (1595-1674) were all active earlier in the century. One very late concordance, the tune to 'The faithful brothers', f. 34v reversed, is dated 1670, and although this could simply mean that an earlier manuscript source has escaped notice, the two concordances with Playford's Select Ayres of 1669 suggest that the final hand B additions could really be that late.

The suggestion that the later contents of the book might have been added over a number of years, as well as the possible involvement in its history of a marriage between members of families named Fayre and Rogers, receives a degree of support from a few lines of undistinguished verse on f.1 and f.60v. On f.1 is written:

This is the dart that pearst the hart the  
constant love to try for I ame still and

ever will be constant till thy hart I have  
 And that is free my only joy I give to thee  
 If this be so and is not gone then let us  
 joyne our harts in one.

On f.60v is this:

Sith hart and break, thou must no longer live  
 to injoy this world nothing that I would give  
 I live forlome all joyes are from me fled  
 I've lost my love, alase my hart is dead.

Beneath, in a very weak, but apparently the same, hand the first few words are repeated:

Sith heart and break, thou ...

Watermarks and paper (see illustrations XIV, XXIII)

Whatever the later history of the manuscript, the 1657 table of contents indicates that the pot and hat papers, with their different rulings, had been combined by that date. The paper has been cut for binding and measures 287 mm. x 187 mm.: the pot paper has eight six-line staves, 16 mm. x 154 mm., and the hat has ten, 13.5 mm. x 152 mm., with five lines.

The manuscript is of special importance because it provides the only dated example of Italian paper marked with the hat,

which can be seen to have been used early in 1657 or before. This use of Italian paper, which is also found in Lbl Add.31479 and several manuscripts from the North collection which were purchased for the Oxford Music School in 1667 (see Ch. X), suggests a lack of satisfaction with the traditional Norman suppliers which may also be reflected in the early use of Angoumois paper in Ob MSS Mus.Sch. e.406-9 (1654) and of apparently German paper in MS Mus.Sch. e.414 (c.1660).



## TABLE IV

British Library Additional MS 10337  
Catalogue and list of concordances

Modern editions (column 4)

All of the keyboard music except the Byrd 'Battaile', which is in H. Andrews (ed), My Ladye Nevell's Booke, 1926, is in George Sargent (ed), 'Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book (CEKM xix), 1971. The complete volume is transcribed in Charles J.F. Cofone (ed), Elizabeth Rogers her Virginall Booke, New York 1975. Other modern editions, not necessarily of keyboard versions of the music, are listed in the table:

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| Bos   | J.L. Boston (ed), <u>Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book</u> , London 1962                                  |
| Fer   | Howard Ferguson (ed), <u>Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book, 1638</u> , London 1974                            |
| MB 20 | Gerald Hendrie (ed), <u>Orlando Gibbons, Keyboard Music</u> , London 1962 ( <u>Musica Britannica xx</u> ) |
| MB 33 | Ian Spink (ed), <u>English Songs, 1625-1660</u> , London 1971 ( <u>Musica Britannica xxxiii</u> )         |
| Dart  | Thurston Dart (ed), <u>The First Part of Musick's Hand-maid Published by John Playford</u> , London 1969  |

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| Rog | Richard Rastall (ed), <u>Complete Keyboard Works: Benjamin Rogers</u> , London 1969                 |
| Sa  | Andrew J. Sabol (ed), <u>Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque</u> , Providence 1978 |

#### Other sources (Column 5)

No originality is claimed for the list of concordances, most of which is derived from the various works listed under 'References' below. None of these, however, catalogues all known arrangements of every piece of music in Add. 10337. Other than for the Byrd 'Battaile', the table below includes all sources of any kind apart from US-NYp Drexel 5609, a copy of Add. 10337 made by Sir John Hawkins. Sources which are not identified by RISM sigla and press-marks are listed here:

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| B&L                   | John Banister and Thomas Low, <u>New Ayres and Dialogues Composed for Voices and Viols ... together with Lessons for Viols or Violins</u> , London 1678 |
| Bunbury               | Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book: MS <sup>69</sup> privately owned.  |
| Cosyn                 | Benjamin Cosyn's Virginal Book: Lk 23.1.4   |
| Cromwell              | Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book: London Museum 46.78-748  |
| <u>Dancing Master</u> | John Playford, <u>The Dancing Master</u> , 1651 and many subsequent editions.   |
| E 1654                | J. van Eyck, <u>Der Fluyten Lust-hof</u> , Amsterdam 1654, i. <u>RISM</u> ix, 19  |

- G Thomas Greeting, The Pleasant Companion for the Flageolet, London 1673. RISM 111, 340
- Mathew Richard Mathew, The Lute's Apology, London 1652
- Matthysz Paulus Matthysz, t'Uitnemend Kabinet vol Pavanen, Almanden, Sarabanden, Couranten, Balleten, Intraden, Airs & c.. 2 parts, Amsterdam 1646, 1649.
- Oldham MS in private collection of Guy Oldham
- Pers D.P. Pers, Bellerophon, of lust tot wysheit, Amsterdam 1656-7. RISM v1, 445
- P 1651 John Playford, A Musical Banquet, London 1651
- PC 1652 - A Book of New Lessons for the Cithren or Gittern, 1652
- PL 1652 - Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol, 1652
- PSA 1652 - Select Ayres and Dialogues, 1652
- P 1659 - Musick's Hand-maid, 1659
- PCA 1659 - Cheerful Ayres, 1659
- P 1669 - Select Ayres and Dialogues, 1669; R/New Jersey 1966
- PL 1669 - Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way, 1669
- PL 1682 - Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way, 1682; R/London 1965
- Starter J.J. Starter, Friesche Lust-hof..., Amsterdam 1621. RISM viii, 167

## References (column 6)

The manuscript as a whole is discussed in Bruce Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century, Ann Arbor 1977-79, i, 61-62; ii, 112-122, with special emphasis on the keyboard music, particularly that ascribed to 'Beare'. Some of the modern editions, especially MB 20, MB 33 and Sabol, contain valuable introductions and commentaries for the individual pieces found in Add. 10337 which they include.

Two other works provide useful information:

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| DM | C.L. Day and E.M. Murrie, <u>English Song Books 1651-1702: a bibliography</u> , London 1940 |
| S1 | Claude M. Simpson, <u>The British Broadside Ballad and its Music</u> , London 1966          |

| 1     | 2    | 3  | 4                   | 5   | 6          |
|-------|------|--|---------------------|---|------------|
| Folio | Page | Title  | Modern Editions     | Other Sources   | References |
| 1     |      |  |                     |   |            |
| 1v    |      |  |                     |   |            |
| 2     | 3    | Sir Tho. Ffairfax Marche                             |                     |   |            |
| 2v    | 4    | Nan's Maske<br>Almaine                               | MB 20 no.41; Sa 211 | Cosyn f.91; NYp Drexel 5612 p.160   |            |
| 3     | 5    | The ffairest nimphe the<br>valleys or mountaines ... | MB 20 no.43; Bos    | Lbl Add. 38539 f.30, 'Graysin maske';<br>Add. 36661 f.60v, arr. O. Gibbons;<br>Och 437 f.5; Bunbury f.13v; F-Pc Res.<br>1186 f.36v,39; Starter 1625 p.194; Pers | Si 214-5   |
| 3v    | 6    | The Scots Marche                                     |                     |   |            |
| 4     | 7    | Prince Rupert's Martche                              |                     |   |            |

| 1  | 2  | 3   | 4          | 5  | 6        |
|----|----|---|------------|--|----------|
| 4v | 8  | One of ye Symphonies  | Sa 383     | <p>Lbl Add.18940 f.10v; Cramwell f.22,27;<br/> Ob MS Mus. Sch. d.220 p.80; d.245-6 p.211,<br/> 229; US-NYp Drexel 5612 p.27; Matthysz ii<br/> f.17v; Mathew p.21; <u>Dancing Master</u>; PL<br/> 1669 p.16; PL 1682 p.22</p> |          |
| 5  | 9  | One of ye Symphonies  | Sa 36; Fer | <p>Lbl Add.18940 f.10; Cramwell f.16v; Ob<br/> MS Mus. Sch. b.2 f.38v-39; d.220 p.83;<br/> d.245-6 p.211,228; Matthysz ii f.17-18;<br/> Mathew p.21; B&amp;L no.12</p>   |          |
| 5v | 10 | Selebrand   |            |  |          |
| 6  | 11 | Almayne   |            |  |          |
| 6v | 12 | A trumpet tune  |            |  |          |
| 7  | 13 | Essex' last goodnight<br>Almayne per Tho.<br>Strengthfeild                |            | <p>Cu MS Dd.6.48, f.22v; F-Pc Res.1185 f.252;<br/> P 1651; PC 1652; PL 1652</p>  | Si 764-8 |
| 7v | 14 | The Corrant to ye last<br>Alm per Tho. Strengthfeild<br>Rupert's Retraite |            | <p>Cu MS Dd.6.48, f.15</p>   | Si 206-8 |

|     |    |   |                                       |  |          |
|-----|----|---|---------------------------------------|--|----------|
| 1   | 2  | 3   | 4                                     | 5  | 6        |
| 8   | 15 | Almayne per Tho.<br>Strengthfeild                     |                                       |  |          |
| 8v  | 16 | Corrant to ye former Almain<br>per Tho. Strengthfeild |                                       |  |          |
|     |    | Untitled piece  |                                       |  |          |
| 9   | 17 | The Nightingale                                       |                                       | Cosyn no.2; Oldham no.6; D-Mbs Mus MSS 1503  | Si 511-3 |
| 9v  | 18 | Corrant Beare   |                                       | GB-BEcr D.D.7/2 f.16; Cu MS Dd.14.24, f.19;<br>En Adv. MS 5.2.15; Och 1236; F-Pc Res.1186<br>f.35v, 62v; US-NYp Drexel 5612 p.147, 150;<br>P 1651 no.11; PL 1652 p.14; E 1654 i f.33v;<br>G no.3 |          |
|     |    | Selebrand Beare                                       |                                       | Och 1236 no.33   |          |
|     |    |   |                                       | Och 1236 no.34; E-Mn M 1360; NL Utm MS q.1   |          |
| 10  | 19 | Corrant Beare   | Maas no.115; Rog<br>no.15; Dart no.43 | Och 1236 no.31; this source, f.30v;<br>Cosyn no.114;P 1659 no.43   |          |
|     |    | Almayne   | Sa 213                                | Och 1113 f.184, 'R. Johnson'; F-Pc Res.<br>1185 p.305; US-NYp Drexel 5612 p.63   |          |
| 10v | 20 | Corrant   | MB 20 no.57                           | US-NYp Drexel 5611 no.40   |          |
| 11  | 21 | Corrant 1 Beare                                       |                                       |  |          |
|     |    | Corrant 2 Beare                                       |                                       |  |          |

| 1   | 2  | 3                              | 4           | 5   | 6            |
|-----|----|--------------------------------|-------------|---|--------------|
| 11v | 22 | The Battaille                  |             |   |              |
| 18v | 36 | The souldiers delight          |             | F-Pc Res. 1186 f.99 (as part of the Battle Suite); PC 1652; <u>Dancing Master</u>                 | Si 20, 773-4 |
| 19  | 37 | Corrant                        |             |   |              |
|     |    | Selebrand                      | Maas no.113 | Cosyn no.112  |              |
| 19v | 38 | A maske                        | Sa 37; Fer  | Lbl Add. 19840 f.10v; Cromwell f.24; Ob MS Mus. Sch. b.2 f.38v-39; d.220 p.86; d.245-6 p.211, 228 |              |
| 20  | 39 | Corrant                        |             |   |              |
|     |    | Selebrand                      |             |   |              |
| 20v | 40 | Lye still, my deare            |             | Text without music begins thus in Cotgrave, <u>Wit's Interpreter</u> , 1655                       | Si 456       |
| 21  | 41 | The chesnut                    |             | F-Pc Res. 1185; PC 1652; <u>Dancing Master</u>  | Si 95-6      |
| 21v | 42 | Cloris sight and sang and wept | MB 33 no.16 | Lbl Add. 11608, 'Mr Balls'; Ob MS Don. c.57; MS Mus. b.1; Och 87; US-NYp Drexel 4175 no.52        |              |
| 22v | 44 | Now ye spring is come          | Sa 94       | Lbl Add. 10444 f.26v, 78v; US-NYp Drexel 4257 no.60   | Si 526-7     |



|     |    |  |             |                    |   |
|-----|----|--|-------------|--------------------|---|
| 1   | 2  | 3  | 4           | 5                  | 6 |
| 23  | 45 | O Jesu meek                                |             |                    |   |
| 23v | 46 | Corrant                                    |             |                    |   |
| 24  | 47 | Corrant                                    |             |                    |   |
| 24v | 48 | Maske                                      | Sa 210      |                    |   |
| 25  | 49 | Corrant                                    |             |                    |   |
| 25v | 50 | Almayne                                    |             | This source, f.41  |   |
| 26  | 51 | Ayre Lupus                                 |             |                    |   |
| 26v | 52 | Could thine incomparable<br>eye            |             |                    |   |
| 27v | 54 | Almayne Mr Johnson                         | MB 20 no.27 |                    |   |
| 29  | 57 | Mock-nightingale                           |             | US-NYp Drexel 5612 |   |
| 29v | 58 | What if the King should<br>come to ye city |             |                    |   |
| 30  | 59 | The King's complaint                       |             |                    |   |

| 1   | 2    | 3  | 4                                     | 5  | 6      |
|-----|------|--|---------------------------------------|--|--------|
| 30v | 60   | Almayne<br>Corrant                             | Maas no.115; Rog<br>no.15; Dart no.43 | Och 1236 no.31; this source, f.10;<br>Cosyn no.114; P 1659 no.43 |        |
| 31  | 61   | Selebrand<br>[Reversed: fragment in<br>hand B] |                                       |  |        |
| 31v | 62   | My delight                                     |                                       |  |        |
| 32  | [63] | Scotts tune [Reversed:<br>hand B]              |                                       |  |        |
| 32v | [64] | An Irish toy<br>Allmayne                       |                                       |  |        |
| 33  | [65] | The Spaynard                                   |                                       |  |        |
| 33v | [66] | The Finnex [Phoenix]                           |                                       |  |        |
| 34  | [67] | A selebrand                                    |                                       |  |        |
| 34v | [68] | A Corant<br>The faithful brothers              |                                       | <u>Dancing Master</u> 1670, etc.                                 | Si 518 |

|     |      |                                       |   |   |   |
|-----|------|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| 1   | 2    | 3                                     | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|     | [69] |                                       |   |   |   |
|     | [70] | [end-paper]                           |   |   |   |
| 35  | [71] |                                       |   |   |   |
| 35v | [72] |                                       |   |   |   |
| 36  | [73] |                                       |   |   |   |
| 36v | [74] |                                       |   |   |   |
| 37  | [75] | Charon, O Charon<br>M. Balles         |   |   |   |
| 37v | 76   | A Hornpipe [Normal way up;<br>hand A] |   |   |   |
| 38  | 77   |                                       |   |   |   |
| 38v | 78   | [unused]                              |   |   |   |
| 39  | 79   | [unused]                              |   |   |   |
| 39v | 80   | Almayne                               |   |   |   |

| 1   | 2  | 3  | 4           | 5  | 6                 |
|-----|----|--|-------------|--|-------------------|
| 40  | 81 | Corrant per Tho.<br>Strengthfeild<br>Selebrand |             |  |                   |
| 40v | 82 | Almain [both inverted;<br>Corant hand A]       |             |  |                   |
| 41  | 83 | Almayne [inverted; hand A]                     |             | This source, f.25                                  |                   |
| 41v | 84 | I wish noe more                                |             | PSA 1652 p.5 (Laniere); PCA 1659 p.48,<br>'Warner' | DM 1615,<br>p.255 |
| 42  | 85 | [Untitled piece]<br>Selebrand T.S.             |             |  |                   |
| 42v | 86 | Love is strange                                | Sa 389; Bos |  |                   |
| 43  | 87 | Almayne Mercure                                |             |  |                   |
| 43v | 88 | Glorye of the North                            |             |  |                   |
| 44  | 89 | [Untitled piece]<br>[Untitled piece] Merceur   |             |  |                   |

|     |    |  |            |   |   |
|-----|----|--|------------|---|---|
| 1   | 2  | 3  | 4          | 5   | 6   |
| 44v | 90 | Corrant<br>Corrant                           |            |   |   |
| 45  | 91 | Phill. Porter's Lamentation                  |            |   |   |
| 45A |    | [Hat watermark. MS reversed<br>from here on] |            | [A different tune from others with<br>similar titles] | Sl 576  |
| 45B |    |  |            |   |   |
| 45C |    |  |            |   |   |
| 46  |    |  |            |   |   |
| 46v | 27 | Think not dear love                          |            |   |   |
| 47  | 26 | All you forsaken lovers                      |            |   |   |
| 48  | 24 | Come you pritty fair-eyed<br>wanton          |            |   |   |
| 48v | 23 | Fyer, Fyer; loe here I<br>burn               | MB 33 no.2 |   | Lbl Eg.2013 f. 33v-34, 'Nic. Lannier';<br>US-NYp Drexel 4257 no.83; P 1669 p.56,<br>'Mr Nich Lanneare'; Ob MS Don.c.57, no.<br>47 |

| 1   | 2  | 3   | 4            | 5   | 6                |
|-----|----|---|--------------|---|------------------|
| 49v | 21 | I preethe sweet to mee<br>be kind Mr Hen. Lawes |              | P 1669 p.19   | DM 1584<br>p.253 |
| 50v | 19 | Psalm 39, verse 12:<br>When man ffor sinne      |              |   |                  |
| 51v | 17 | Sing to the King of Kings                       |              |   |                  |
| 52  | 16 | Let God the God of<br>battaile rise             |              |   |                  |
| 52v | 15 | Yes, I would love<br>Tho. Brewer                |              |   |                  |
| 53v | 13 | O that mine eyes<br>would melt Tho. Brewer      | MB 33 no.104 | Lbl Add.11608 f.45v-46, 'Tho. Brewer';<br>US-NYp Drexel 4527 no.260, 'Thomas<br>Brewer'; Playford, Introduction to the<br><u>Skill of Music, 1664, p.78</u> |                  |
| 54v | 11 | No, no, I tell ye no<br>Mr John Wilson          |              | PCA 1659 (Lanier)   |                  |
| 55v | 9  | Deerest love, I doo not<br>goe                  |              |   |                  |
| 56  | 8  | I'le wish no more                               |              | See f.41v above   |                  |

| 1   | 2 | 3                                      | 4             | 5  | 6     |
|-----|---|--|---------------|--|-------|
| 56v | 7 | Baloo, my boy, lye still<br>and sleepe |               | Similarities with US-NYp Drexel 4257<br>no.56? | Si 33 |
| 57v | 5 | No flatt'ring pillow<br>Mr Willson     |               |  |       |
| 58v | 3 | Since 'tis my fate                     | MB 33 no.91   | US-NYp Drexel 4257 no.166 (W. Webb)            |       |
| 59  | 2 | Must your faire inflaming<br>eye       | MB 33 no. 120 | US-NYp Drexel 4257 no.1                        |       |
| 59v | 1 | Psaln 42: Lord, as the<br>hart         |               |  |       |
| 60  |   |  |               |  |       |
| 60v |   |  |               |  |       |

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. North writes: 'I designed to write over all Mr Jenkins' compositions and did execute my purpose upon a great many, but for want of good paper and good directions in making the characters black and regular, my first labours came to little.' See A. Jessopp (ed), The Autobiography of the Hon. Roger North, London 1887, 82; Pamela J. Willetts, 'Autograph Music by John Jenkins', ML xlviii (1967), 125n.
2. The North family music collection contains further, undated, examples of foolscap watermarks as well as hat marks identical with those in Lbl Add.31479. See Ch. X below, and Margaret Crum, 'The Consort Music from Kirtling, bought for the Oxford Music School from Anthony Wood in 1667', Chelys iv (1972), 3.
3. The principal work on George Jeffreys' life and music is Peter Aston, George Jeffreys and the English Baroque, unpub. diss., University of York, 1970. See also Aston, 'George Jeffreys', MT cx (1969), 772; 'Tradition and Experiment in the Works of George Jeffreys', PRMA xcix (1972-3), 105; 'Jeffreys, George', Grove ix, 583-586.

Aston's 1970 thesis contains three volumes of transcriptions and musical examples and a fourth including an excellent biography of the composer as well as discussions of different types of music. Two important aspects are omitted, however: a detailed account of the contents of Jeffreys' Italian music partbooks Lbl Add.31479 (see



Ch. X below), and an examination of the physical structure of the autograph score and partbooks.

4. A. Clark (ed), The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Oxford 1891-5, i, 174; Sir John Hawkins, A General History of the Science and Practice of Music, London 1875, ii, 582, 680.  
In Och 879, one of a set of parts belonging to Henry Aldrich (1648-1710), is a note on the flyleaf facing f.1: 'A collection of songs by Jefferies late Organist of Christ Church'. This observation, apparently in Aldrich's hand, is of some importance as it seems to be the only independent evidence to support Wood's account of Jeffreys' activities at Oxford, although Aldrich too might have had his information from Wood. Pamela J. Willetts, 'John Lilly, Musician and Music Copyist', Bodleian Library Record vii (1967), 311, points out that Aldrich did not copy his music collection but acquired it already copied from various sources, added his own annotations, and had the volumes bound. The collection attributed to Jeffreys in Och 878-880, mainly consisting of music by Dering and Italian secular music, is copied on pot and grapes paper unlikely to be later than the mid-1650s and possibly contemporary with Jeffreys' residence in Oxford in the early 1640s.

5. Peter Hausted, The Rivall Friends, a comedie, as it was acted before the King and Queen's Majesties, when out of their princely favour they were pleased to visite their universitie of Cambridge upon the 19th day of March 1631. Cried down by Boyes, Faction, Envie and confident Ignorance, approved by the judicious and now exposed to the publique censure by the author ..., London 1632.  
See A.W. Ward and A.R.Waller (eds), The Cambridge History of English Literature, vi, Cambridge 1950, 324-5.
6. Thomas Randolph, Poems, with The Muses' Looking Glass and Amyntas, Oxford 1638. 'The Masque of Vices' is not a separate work but part of The Muses' Looking Glass, and only 'Say Daunce' belongs to it rather than the poems: see The Muses, p.15. Randolph's Jealous Lovers was performed at Cambridge during the Royal visit of 1632, and it is possible that The Muses was presented in London towards the end of that year: see Ward and Waller, op. cit. vi, 232-3.
7. The other set of parts containing Jeffreys' fantasias, Och 468-472, has Angoumois demy paper in upright quarto, marked with a fleur-de-lys and IHS countermark similar, though not identical, to Watermark XXXVII. Other examples of this type of mark in music manuscripts date from the 1660s, but the upright quarto format suggests that a date after 1662, when a similar size of book could be produced more cheaply using Angoumois foolscap-size paper in folio, is unlikely. The set probably dates from c.1657-62. The

date 1629 attributed to this source by Aston is not correct: on f.1 of Och 469 the copyist has made his normal ascription 'Geo. Jeffreys', above which a different hand has added 'Geore Jeffreys 1729' (sic).

8. J. and J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part 1, ii, Cambridge 1922, 331.
9. Ibid., 332.
10. Venn, Alumni, Part 1, iii, 420; DNB xlvii, 280-282; Anthony Wood, Athenae Oxonienses ... an exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford, to which are added the Fasti or Annals of the said university, London 1820 (facsimile ed. London and New York 1967), iv, 565-567.
11. Venn, Alumni, Part 1, ii, 331.
12. Joseph Foster, The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889, London 1889, 159.
13. Walter C. Metcalfe, A Book of Knights Banneret, Knights of the Bath and Knights Bachelor made between the fourth year of King Henry VI and the Restoration of King Charles II, London 1885, 202.
14. G.J. Armytage (ed), A Visitation of the County of Surrey begun Anno Dni. MDCLXII finished Anno Dni. MDCLXVIII, London 1910 (Harl. Soc. Pub. lx), 57.
15. 644. b. 45.
16. Peter Hausted, Ad Populum, or A Lecture to the People, Oxford 1644.

17. Wood, Athenae (1820); Fasti ii (in vol.iv), 50.
18. Venn, Alumni, Part 1, ii, 331.
19. Wood, Athenae (1820) iv, 140-145.
20. Aston (1970) iv, 74.
21. Hawkins, A General History, ii, 680.
22. Edward, Earl of Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641 (ed. W. Dunn Macray), iv, Oxford 1888, 209.
23. Ibid.
24. Wood, Athenae (1820); Fasti ii (in vol.iv), 50.
25. DNB xxv, 162-3. See his many letters in G.F. Warner (ed), Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, London 1886-1920, and frequent references in E.S. de Beer (ed), The Diary of John Evelyn, Oxford 1955.
26. Warner, op. cit. i, 97.
27. DNB iii, 216.
28. Captain Henry Cooke, later Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal: see Peter Dennison, 'Cooke, Henry', Grove iv, 710-11. Evelyn (20 October 1654) described him as 'esteem'd the best singer after the Italian manner of any in England': see de Beer (ed), op. cit. iii, 144.
29. Warner, op. cit. iii, 283.
30. De Beer, op. cit. iii, 191.
31. Ibid 203-4.
32. Ibid. 203-5n.
33. Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, ii, Oxford 1891, 805.

34. A. Clark (ed), Life and Times, i, 274; Hawkins, A General History, ii, 683.
35. DNB xxix, 284.
36. Peter Holman, letter to the editor, Chelys v (1973-4), 79.
37. Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue, i, 283-4 passim.
38. Ian Spink (ed), English Songs 1625-1660, London 1971 (Musica Britannica xxxiii), 189.
39. Crum, 'The Consort Music', Chelys iv (1972), 3.
40. Wood, Athenae (1820); Fasti ii (in vol. iv), 109.
41. A. Clark (ed), Life and Times, i, 241-2; Hawkins, A General History, ii, 681.
42. Foster, The Register, 285.
43. On a scrap of paper now Ob MS Mus.Sch. c.9 f.1. See Margaret Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', ML xlviii (1967), 23.
44. Abundio Antonelli, chiefly active in Rome and Benevento; d. in or before 1629. 3-voice works pub. Rome 1615, 1616. See Patricia Ann Myers, 'Antonelli, Abundio', Grove 1, 491-2.
45. Lcm 1045-51, a collection, in parts, made by John Barnard in preparation for his First Book of Selected Church Music, London 1641, contains an eight-part 'My song shall be alway' (second part: 'O Lord the very heavens') ascribed to George Jeffreys. Aston (1970 and Grove) regards this work as 'doubtful', but there is no chronological reason

- why it should not be authentic. See W. Barclay Squire, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Royal College of Music (typescript: copy available in the British Library MS department students' room), i, 265-285.
46. Briquet, Les Filigranes (1968), supplementary material 34-5.
  47. Ibid., 35.
  48. Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue, iii, 184, 205. Three movements were undoubtedly part of The Triumph of Peace: see Andrew J. Sabol (ed), Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque, Providence 1978, nos. 36-38. Others are possibly from the masque: see Sabol nos. 382/3, 386. Add. 18940-44 contain chamber-music arrangements of the masque music and much other instrumental material; they probably date from a similar period to the earliest parts of Add. 10338, perhaps c.1640.
  49. John Playford, A Musically Banquet set forth in three Choice Varieties of Music ..., London 1651; Court Ayres, or Pavans, Almains, Corant's and Sarabands of two parts, Treble and Bass for viols or violins ..., London 1655; Courtly Masquing Ayres ... of two parts, London 1662.
  50. See Crum, 'Early Lists', ML xlvi (1967), 23-34.
  51. The work is probably William Cockburn, The Symptoms, Nature, Cause and Cure of a Gonorrhoeah, 2/London 1715.
  52. W. Munk, Roll of the Royal College of Physicians, London 1878.

53. John Gamble, Ayres and Dialogues, London 1656, 2/1657;  
a further volume 1659.
54. A. Clark (ed), Life and Times, i,255-6; Hawkins, A General  
History, ii,681.
55. Briquet, Les Filigranes (1968), supplementary material,34-5.
56. Ibid.
57. VDGS Provisional Index, Chelys i (1970),53.
58. Willetts, 'Autograph Music', ML xlviii (1967), 124; Crum,  
'The Consort Music', Chelys iv (1972),3; Jessopp (ed),  
The Autobiography, especially Ch. VII (68-89), 'Of Music  
and its Importance in Education'.
59. See Bruce Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music of the 17th  
Century, Ann Arbor 1977-79, i,61-2; ii,112-22.
60. Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance, London 1954, 852.
61. See Sabol (ed), Four Hundred Songs and Dances; Peter Holman,  
'The Symphony', Chelys vi (1975-6), 10; C.L. Day and E.B.  
Murrie, English Song Books 1651-1702: a bibliography,  
London 1940; C.M. Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad  
and its Music, London 1966.
62. 'The Bataille' by William Byrd (1543-1623) is in 'My Lady  
Nevell's Booke' dated 11 September 1591: see Reese, op.  
cit., 851; 866-7. The MS is privately owned: see A. Brown,  
'My Lady Nevell's Booke as a Source of Byrd's Keyboard  
Music', PRMA xcv (1968-9),29.
63. See M. Rollin and J.M. Vaccaro, Oeuvres des Mercure, Paris  
1977; biographical notes xiv-xv.

64. See Gustafson, *op. cit.*; J. Caldwell, 'Sources of keyboard music to 1660: 2 (vi) British Isles', Grove xvii, 731-33; Jane M. Bowers, 'La Barre', Grove x, 334-6.
65. Simpson, *op. cit.*, 764-8.
66. John Cotgrave, Wit's Interpreter, the English Parnassus or, a sure Guide to those Admirable Accomplishments that compleat our English Gentry in the most acceptable Qualifications of Discourse or Writing, London 1655.
67. See Vincent Duckles, 'The Gamble MS as a Source of Continuo Song in England', JAMS i (1948), 23.
68. Ian Spink, English Song, Dowland to Purcell, London 1974, 65-6.
69. See J.L. Boston, 'Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book', ML xxxvi (1955), 365, and modern edition, London 1962.



## CHAPTER VII

## ENGLISH MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS FROM 1660 TO 1678

From c.1660 Norman and Italian papers alike give way in music sources to paper from the Angoumois. For heavier types of small paper the Amsterdam arms and foolscap are the commonest marks, while the posthorn and small fleur-de-lys seem to be increasingly confined to lighter grades of paper and so become unusual in music.

The first occurrences of Angoumois marks are in paper of much the same size as the typical Norman pot of the early 1650s. Bishop Fell's 1674 inventory (see Ch. III above) shows that by then a distinction had been made between the pot and foolscap sizes of paper, although the actual terms 'pot' and 'foolscap' were not yet consistently used. References to 'large Capp' in the Lord Chamberlain's bills for 1675-6 could well reflect the gradual differentiation between the two sizes: the price given for two reams is 6s 6d, but comparison with the 1674 inventory and the generally high prices paid by the Lord Chamberlain suggest that this was the price of a single ream, close to the inventory price for foolscap paper of the larger kind. A further Angoumois mark comes into common use in the mid-1660s, the large and ornate fleur-de-lys associated with demy and medium papers. Frequently, though not invariably, this mark is found with the countermark IHS, sometimes with the initials of the papermaker beneath.

The trade embargoes imposed against France (see Ch. II above) exposed the extent of English dependence upon imported French

paper, but had little lasting effect as import licences were freely granted. A more significant event, in terms of results visible in paper, was the French Order in Council of 21 June 1671 which required that paper should bear the initials of its maker. In Normandy it was traditional for the papermaker to be identified in the watermark, but Angoumois marks had generally been anonymous. In spite of this legislation, some paper continues to be found without personal marks, perhaps because it was made specially for the export market.

Bodleian Library MSS Mus.Sch. e.410-414

(Watermarks XXVI, XXXIV, XXXVI)

Music School manuscripts e.410-14 contain two sequences of music, one beginning at each end of the partbooks. One series consists of three- and four-part consort music for strings: nos. 1-20 are Charles Coleman's 'Ayres of 4 parts' for two trebles, tenor and bass; 21-45 the same composer's three-part ayres; 46 and 47 are from Lawes' Royal Consort and 50-61 are three-part ayres by Richard Cooke, which have several concordances with two-part versions in Ob MS Mus.Sch. d.220. Reversing the volumes, there is an unusual series of anonymous works numbered 1-26 for treble, lute, lyra viol and bass: the lute and lyra parts in e.411 and 412 are in tablature.<sup>1</sup> Nos. 27-32 are six pieces for two trebles, lute and bass by John Birkenshaw, and in e.411 folios 68-67v (reversed) there are two anonymous solos for lute.

The set of parts appears in the Music School list made in 1682 as 'a set of bookes filletted with gold of several authors works and a thorough bass in a blew paper. no.40'.<sup>2</sup> A table of contents has been added to e.414 f.1 by Edward Lowe, who may have acquired the set for the Music School after the death of its original owner Richard Rhodes, a Londoner educated at Westminster and Christ Church described by Wood as 'well grounded ... in the practical part of music'.<sup>3</sup> Rhodes matriculated on 31 July 1658 and graduated B.A. on 22 March 1662.<sup>4</sup> A play by him, Flora's Vagaries, was performed by the students of Christ Church in 1663;<sup>5</sup> he died in Madrid in 1668. In the duplicate bass part e.414, which

still has the blue paper cover described in 1682 within its modern binding, is a note, apparently in Rhodes' hand: 'These basses are likeways to be found in my 4 pt bookes of red leather a little guilt, these being pricked for a theorbo': e.410-13 are still in their original red leather.

The books contain a number of other informative comments. In e.413 is the inscription 'Ri. Rhodes ex Aede Christi Oxon Sep 7 1660' which perhaps records the date when he acquired the four red leather books. E.414 was certainly sent from London to Oxford, as a pencil note in it reads 'Leave at ye Saracen's Head upon Snow Hill wth ye Oxford Carrier to be brought to Rhodes a student of Christ Church'. The Saracen's Head, a major coaching inn on Snow Hill near the site of the present Holborn Viaduct,<sup>6</sup> was the starting point of the coaches from London to Oxford run by the University carrier Thomas Moore.<sup>7</sup> On f.1 of e.410 is a note in ink: 'At the lute in Bow Streete' and on f.83v of the same book: 'Prick the treble for the lute consort at this end of the Booke'. Similar instructions in the other parts have been crossed out, presumably after the work had been done. Another instruction in e.412, f.76v, does not appear to be in Rhodes' handwriting or spelling, and is directed to the binder: 'singill filletes with a print in the m ... strong pastbords sowed to o ... verie flatt too be donne with ... speede'.

Watermarks and paper (see illustrations XXVI, XXXIV,  
XXXVI)

All of the books are in upright quarto. The four string parts measure 188 mm. x 155 mm. and their watermark (XXXVI) is a crowned fleur-de-lys quite unlike the Angoumois pattern which becomes familiar from the late 1660s, notably in the shape of the shield, the decoration of the crown, and the incorporation of initials into the watermark itself.

The theorbo part, e.414, measures 186 mm x 145 mm. and has three watermarks. One, an elaborate bird mark, is mostly hidden but resembles Heawood 199 (Holland 1644).<sup>8</sup> A second (XXXIV), a two-headed eagle, is a surprising mark to find in an English music source and is probably of German origin: a similar example, Heawood 1302, occurs in Holland in 1633-4. The third mark is a foolscap which, though differing from later Angoumois examples and indeed from others found in sources dated c.1660 and earlier, nevertheless has a number of Angoumois features such as the symmetrical arrangement of the five points and the general shape of the top of the cap and bells.

Both the paper and the construction of the set are unusual. The unruled flyleaves in some of the books are of the same type of paper as the music pages, which suggests that the stationer bought a supply of paper for the task in hand and ruled as much as was needed, rather than that ready-ruled paper was obtained from elsewhere or set aside in his own shop. The upright quarto format is wasteful and inconvenient with such a small size of

paper. The combination of so many unusual features suggests that the 'Lute in Bow Streete' was not the source of most English music paper c.1660.

**British Library Additional Manuscripts 30488-90**  
**(Watermarks XIX, XXVII, XLIV)**

British Library Add. MSS 30488-90 are a set of parts of John Jenkins' fantasias for two trebles and bass without organ, that is, requiring no continuo instrument.<sup>9</sup> These works survive in the several sources listed in Table I below, the first of which, Lbl Add.31428, is a fine calligraphic score probably copied by Jenkins himself.<sup>10</sup> Add.30488-90 are in the hand of Matthew Hutton (1639-1711), who also copied the other surviving score, York Minster M20S.<sup>11</sup>

Dr Matthew Hutton was a friend of Edward Lowe, whose score of Christopher Simpson's 'Months', Ob MS Mus.Sch. c.58, was copied by Hutton and is inscribed 'The Gift of his Honoured Freind Mr Mathew Hutton Fellowe of Brazen Nose Colledge in Oxford 27 January 1673/4'. Apart from the three copies already mentioned, Hutton owned and made corrections to an earlier set of parts of fantasias by Ferrabosco and others, now Lbl Add.17792-6, and copied part of Ob MSS Mus.Sch. d.241-4, which contains three- and four-part ayres and dances by Rogers, Jenkins, Baltzar and Bowman.<sup>12</sup> Despite his wide and evidently informed interest in music, however, Hutton's chief claim to fame is as an antiquarian.

**Watermarks and paper (see illustrations XIX, XXVII, XLIV)**

The copying of Add.30488-90 was carried out between 1661 and 1666 in two stages recorded by dates written in the parts. The first

twelve fantasias had been completed by 18 December 1661, according to a date entered in the bass part, Add.30490, on f.12. The second phase was begun on 2 January 1666 and completed in the same month: Hutton's final date, on f.20v of Add.30489 and 30490, is 'Jan 27 1665/6'. The books are of special interest because they provide the earliest dated examples of the standard form of English music paper from c.1660 to 1688: paper from the Angoumois, of a relatively heavy type (here marked with the Amsterdam arms and fools-cap) used in folio or oblong quarto format (in this case folio). Because of the Dutch involvement in Angoumois paper mills, reflected by the common use of the Amsterdam arms and, later, of the Dutch lion watermark in paper exported to England, paper from this area was generally described as 'Dutch': an example is found in Playford's 1664 edition of A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick where one of the advertisements is for

All Sorts of the best Dutch ruled paper, and all Sizes  
of Rul'd books for Musick, sold by John Playford and  
Zacharia Watkin at their Shop in the Inner Temple.

The search for a reliable source of completely satisfactory paper for music seems to have been over for John Playford by 1664. Only a few years previously, the 'Lute' establishment in Bow Street had used three different types of paper from at least two areas of origin to make Richard Rhodes' theorbo partbook, Ob MS Mus. Sch. e.414, all admittedly of high quality. It is possible that the use of the upright quarto format in manuscripts dating from before 1660, such as Ob MSS Mus.Sch. e.410-14 and some of the



Jeffreys sources described in Ch. VI above, was sometimes a means of employing a larger and therefore heavier type of paper to produce pages of foolscap folio size; certainly, upright quartos seem to have been avoided while 'Dutch paper' from the Angoumois was the commonest material.

Marginal notes and paper characteristics alike indicate that Add.30488-90 were copied in two distinct phases, one concluded on 18 December 1661, the other carried out between 24 and 27 January 1666. The principal type of paper in all three books is Angoumois, marked with the Amsterdam arms: one mark of the pair is illustrated (XLIV); the other can be distinguished by a wider spacing of the bars of the coronet. With the important exception of a single sheet, forming Add. 30488 folios 6 and 7, this type of paper was used for the whole of the first phase of copying. The single variant sheet is marked with a posthorn but ruled identically with the main Amsterdam arms paper, suggesting that the posthorn sheet was supplied by the stationer, and probably originally obtained by him, in the same quire as the Amsterdam material. The texture and quality of the two types of paper is very similar, and there can be little doubt that the simple, unfussy posthorn watermark is Angoumois, even in the absence of personal marks in confirmation (see watermarks XIX-XXI; compare the Norman Durand posthorn XVIII). The second phase of copying was begun on what remained of the original Amsterdam paper but completed on paper of four different kinds, though all are Angoumois. The dimensions and ruling characteristics of the different types of paper in the source are set out in Table II below,

and their distribution throughout the partbooks is given in Table III.

The format and principal paper types of Add.30488-90 remained typical of English music manuscripts for many years. A slightly larger size of 'foolscap' paper was introduced in the 1670s, together with the more general use of personal countermarks, and the incursion of Abraham Janssen into the English market from 1679 onwards is reflected by the appearance of his own monogram and the marks of the craftsmen he employed, but the Angoumois remained the preferred source of supply and partbooks were almost invariably made of foolscap-size paper in folio or oblong quarto. The posthorn watermark, however, began to be employed especially for lighter types of paper suitable for letter-writing, and so becomes very rare in music sources: Lbl Add.10444 (see Ch. IX below) is an interesting exception to the normal rule. In Add. 30488 the posthorn paper is still indistinguishable from the Amsterdam sheets.

Eire-Dm  
Z.3.4 1-6 ,

Och 473-8

9  
10  
11

Ob MSS Mus.Sch  
e.437-442

19  
20

Ob MS Mus.Sch  
c.87

7 8 9 4 5 6 10 11 12 15 13

Ob MSS Mus.Sch  
c.64-9

London,  
Guildhall,  
G. Mus 469-71

7 8 9 4 5 6 10 14 15 13 11

York Minster,  
M20S

7 8 9 10 11 12 4 6 5 3 1

Lbl Add.30488-90 7 8 9 4 5 6 10 14 15 13 11

Lbl Add.31428

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Viola da Gamba  
Society number

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Table I: Concordances with Lbl Add.30488-90



Table II

## Lb1 Add.30488-90: watermarks and stave rulings

| Watermark    | Number of<br>staves | Width/<br>length; mm. | No. of staves<br>in rastrum | Rastrum<br>span; mm. | Measurement over<br>all staves; mm. |
|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Amsterdam 1  | 10                  | 12 x 163              | 5                           | 121.5                | 258                                 |
| Posthorn     | 10                  | 12 x 163              | 5                           | 121.5                | 258                                 |
| Foolscap     | 12                  | 10.5 x 162            | 4                           | 80.5                 | 267                                 |
| Amsterdam 2  | 12                  | 10.5 x 162            | 4                           | 80.5                 | 267                                 |
| Amsterdam 3  | 10                  | 12.5 x 158            | 5                           | 111.5                | 236.5                               |
| Paschal lamb | 10                  | 13 x 160              | 5                           | 119                  | 252                                 |

All sheets have been cut to give folio measurements of c.310 mm. x 197 mm. Traces of deckels survive, however, except in the posthorn paper, Add.30488 folios 6 and 7.

TABLE III

Lb1 Add.30488-90: distribution of watermarks

Add. 30488

| folio | mark          |  |
|-------|---------------|--|
| [1    | Amsterdam 1b  |  |
| [2    | -             |  |
| [3    | Amsterdam 1b  |  |
| [4    | -             |  |
| [5    | -             |  |
| [6    | Posthorn      | Cut edges all round and<br>a slightly different<br>colour show that folios<br>6 & 7 are a single sheet |
| [7    | -             |  |
| [8    | Amsterdam 1a  |  |
| [9    | -             |  |
| [10   | -             |  |
| [11   | Amsterdam 1b  |  |
| [12   | Amsterdam 1b. |  |
| [13   | Amsterdam 1a  |  |
| [14   | -             |  |
| [15   | -             | 12-stave ruling begins   |
| [16   | Foolscap b    |  |
| [17   | -             |  |
| [18   | Foolscap b    |  |
| [19   | Foolscap a    |  |
| [20   | -             |  |

## Add. 30489

| folio | mark         |  |
|-------|--------------|--|
| 1     | -            |  |
| 2     | -            |  |
| 3     | Amsterdam 1a |  |
| 4     | Amsterdam 1a |  |
| 5     | Amsterdam 1a |  |
| 6     | Amsterdam 1b |  |
| 7     | -            |  |
| 8     | -            |  |
| 9     | -            |  |
| 10    | Amsterdam 1b |  |
| 11    | -            |  |
| 12    | Amsterdam 1b | 12v (before fantasia<br>13): 'Jan 24 1665/6' |
| 13    | Amsterdam 1a |  |
| 14    | -            |  |
| 15    | Amsterdam 2  | 12-stave ruling begins                       |
| 16    | -            |  |
| 17    | -            |  |
| 18    | Amsterdam 2  |  |
| 19    | -            |  |
| 20    | Foolscap a   | 20v: 'Jan 27 1665/6'                         |

Add. 30490

folio

mark

|     |               |  |
|-----|---------------|--|
| [1  | -             |  |
| [2  | -             |  |
| [3  | Amsterdam 1a  |  |
| [4  | Amsterdam 1a  |  |
| [5  | Amsterdam 1b  |  |
| [6  | Amsterdam 1b  |  |
| [7  | -             |  |
| [8  | -             |  |
| [9  | -             |  |
| [10 | Amsterdam 1b  |  |
| [11 | -             |  |
| [12 | Amsterdam 1a  | 12r (after fantasia 12):<br>'ex. fin Dec 18 1661'<br>12v (before fantasia<br>13): Jan 24 1665/6' |
| [13 | Amsterdam 1b. |  |
| [14 | Amsterdam 1b  |  |
| [15 | -             |  |
| [16 | -             |  |
| [17 | -             | Folios 17 & 18 are a<br>single sheet   |
| [18 | Paschal lamb  |  |
| [19 | -             | 19 & 20 are a single<br>sheet  |
| [20 | Amsterdam 3   | 20v: 'Jan 27 1665/6'   |



**Bodleian Library MSS Mus.Sch c.54-57**

(Watermark XXXVII)

Music School manuscripts c.54-57 are a set of parts of Christopher Simpson's 'Months' and 'Seasons' commissioned, presumably for the Oxford Music School, by Edward Lowe. The continuo part, c.57, is inscribed 'These four Bookes were prickt by Mr John Lillye<sup>13</sup> who had of mee 5sh for the pricking them 29th December 1668 beside my charge of paper and binding. Ed. Lowe', and unlike the score of the 'Months' which Matthew Hutton gave to Lowe in 1674, now Mus.Sch. c.58, the parts are catalogued in the 1682 list.<sup>14</sup>

**Watermarks and paper (see illustration XXXVII)**

The folio partbooks measure 354 mm. x 235 mm. and have twelve staves, each 13 mm. x 193 mm., ruled with a four-stave rastrum measuring 92.5 mm. Over twelve staves the measurement is c.304 mm. The paper is Angoumois demy, which was frequently used for sets of parts in quarto, but seldom in folio except for scores. Lowe probably wished to provide the Music School with the best and most durable set of parts possible.

Like Lbl Add.30488-90 these books illustrate a significant development in the history of English music paper. They provide the earliest dated example of what may be called the classical form of the Angoumois fleur-de-lys watermark, with many important features of the general pattern that remained unaltered until

1688 or later, although the countermark is still smaller and less regular than in the paper of the 1680s. The fleur-de-lys countermarked IHS can be recognised as Angoumois from the descriptions in the 1674 inventory (see Ch.III above) of 'Dutch' and 'Rochelle' demy and from its later use by Angoumois craftsmen such as Claude de George and Étienne Touzeau. Several La Couronne mills stood on land belonging to the Jesuits, and it is possible that the IHS countermark was used by their tenants. Watermarks of the same general type are found in Ob MSS Mus. Sch. e.430 (countermarked IV), a set of parts of Simpson's 'Little Consort' dated 11 January 1672, and in Lowe's score of the 'Months', Mus.Sch.c.58, given to him in 1674.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. See Tim Crawford, 'An Unusual Consort Revealed in an Oxford Manuscript', Chelys vi (1975-6), 61.
2. Crum, 'Early Lists', ML xlvi (1967), 23.
3. Wood, Athenae (1820), i, p. xxxv. Rhodes is described as 'a confident Westmonasterian violinist to hold between his knees'. He was the owner of a lost Jenkins source: see Andrew Ashbee, 'Towards the Chronology and Dating of Some Aires by John Jenkins', ML lv (1974), 39.
4. Wood, Athenae (1820), Fasti ii (in vol. iv), 819; Foster, Alumni, iii, 1250.
5. A later performance in London was witnessed by Samuel Pepys, who described it as 'as pretty a pleasant play as any I saw in my life': see R.C. Latham and W. Matthews (eds), The Diary of Samuel Pepys, v, London 1971, 236; vii, London 1974, 463-4.
6. C.L. Kingsford, A Survey of London by John Stow, Oxford 1908, ii, 34.
7. A. Clark (ed), Life and Times, ii, 223, 245.
8. See typescript Revised Descriptions available in the Music Room at the Bodleian. This identification of the watermark must have been made while the volume was disbound.
9. For a summary of Jenkins' life and a bibliography see Andrew Ashbee, 'Jenkins, John', Grove ix, 596-8; for a thematic index of the fantasias for two trebles and bass without the organ see VDGS Provisional Index, Chelys 1

- (1969), 45. '
10. Willetts, 'Autograph Music', ML xlvi (1967), 124.
  11. Pamela J. Willetts, 'Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford', BMQ xxiv (1961), 71-5; David Griffiths, A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library, n.p. 1981, 85.
  12. Willetts, 1961.
  13. Pamela J. Willetts, 'John Lilly, Musician and Music Copyist', Bodleian Library Record vii (1967), 307-11.
  14. Crum, 'Early Lists', 23. The only source of the 'Months' apart from the two Bodleian copies is Lbl Add.31436; the 'Seasons' are found in Add.31436, T 296-9 (now at the Bodleian), Y M56S (another Hutton copy: see Griffiths, Catalogue, 113) and Eire-Dm 2.3.4. 13.

## CHAPTER VIII

## ENGLISH MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS FROM 1678 TO 1688

In the ten years between the treaty of Nijmegen and the outbreak of the Nine Years' War in 1688 the English trade in high-quality paper continued to be dominated by the Angoumois mills, but factors' marks in the paper suggest that the business was increasingly controlled by a small group of merchants. In music manuscripts the personal marks of Abraham Janssen and 'HC' are found, and the monogram of Gillis van Hoven appears as a factor's mark in the Lord Chamberlain's bill book for 1686. The van Hoven family were certainly based in Amsterdam, but Abraham Janssen, whose relatives had worked in the Angoumois for some time, appears to have run his business entirely from Angoulême.

There is no reason why Angoumois paper should have been transported to Amsterdam and re-exported thence. William Carr states that by 1688 most English trade was with the deep-water harbour of Rotterdam, because large ships could only reach Amsterdam if they were raised in the water by the support of barges on either side, and their cargoes were often transferred to lighters for the last stage of the journey.<sup>1</sup> It follows that although the advantages of Amsterdam as a commercial centre were formidable, including the effective and trustworthy Wisselbank which was guaranteed by the city corporation and issued bills of exchange honoured in most trading centres,<sup>2</sup> there was little to be gained by transporting goods to Amsterdam if their ultimate destination

lay elsewhere. As far as the English paper trade was concerned, a factor living in Amsterdam did not necessarily have an advantage.

The persecution of Huguenots culminating in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 caused a wave of emigration which took place over many years. Although the loss of skilled craftsmen from the French paper industry did not destroy it, the refugees' contribution to the paper industry in Holland helped the Dutch mills to take over the English market when the legal and practical obstacles caused by the Nine Years' War placed the Angoumois mills at a disadvantage. Although the paper industry of the area did recover in the eighteenth century, the English export trade lost in 1688 was not regained.

In the period 1678-1688 there is an uneven distribution of dated material: the manuscripts described in this chapter are all but one dated 1680 or 1682. There was no reason for the source of high-quality paper supplied to England to change, however, until the outbreak of war in 1688: the prohibition of trade with France which became law in 1689 was the first such measure to be enacted when an alternative source of high-quality paper was available. One source discussed in this chapter, Lbl Add.31427, is undated, but contains a further example of Abraham Janssen's factor's mark and a countermark which shows that it too belongs to this period; a further manuscript dated 1680, Lbl Add.31431, is described in Ch. IX below.

# British Library Additional Manuscript 31427

(Watermarks XL, XLI)

British Library Additional MS 31427 is a set of parts entitled 'Mr John Jenkins little consort in three parts ... the VI consort is the Bells'. The books in fact combine a version of the 'Little Consort' proper, with concordances in Lcm 4341, Lbl Add.31423 and Ob MS North e.37 (see Table I below),<sup>3</sup> with an arrangement of 'Lady Katherine Audley's Bells', an extremely popular consort which has a completely different set of concordances.<sup>4</sup>

Watermarks and paper (see illustrations XL, XLI)

The paper of these partbooks has four different watermarks, all Angoumois fleurs-de-lys with IHS or personal countermarks. Marks a and b, which appear to be a pair, have no personal identification, but c has both the factor's mark AJ and the countermark ET. The isolated quarter of mark d also has the initials AJ.

Some of the paper of this source, then, was made by 'ET', probably Étienne Touzeau, who in 1671 was running the St Michel mill for Derioq Janssen,<sup>5</sup> and exported by Abraham Janssen. Touzeau also made the fine paper of Purcell's 1680 score, Lbl Add. 30930, and posthorn paper with his and Janssen's initials is found in the Hatton correspondence dated 9 February 1681 (Lbl Add.29558 folios 150-1). The only evidence that Janssen made a determined attack on the English high-quality paper market c.1679 (before which date his personal mark is not found)<sup>6</sup> comes from the paper

itself, but the appearance shortly after the end of the Franco-Dutch war of 1672-78 of his factor's mark and the countermarks of craftsmen known to have worked for him is unlikely to be coincidental. The peace of Nijmegen concluded the war on terms not unfavourable to the Dutch<sup>7</sup> and probably encouraged new investment and expansion in the Angoumois paper industry. The patriotic Dutch lion emblem, frequently found with Janssen's initials and the countermark of Claude de George, who certainly worked for him, also appears in English music sources at about the same time.

Add.31427 illustrates some details of paper which can be useful in determining the dates of manuscripts. Paper marked with Janssen's initials is not found before 1679, and there are good historical reasons why this should be so: much of the paper made for him bears the personal mark of the papermaker, who can in some cases be identified. These personal marks, and the peculiarities of the English music paper market, are more useful in dating manuscripts than the general characteristics of the watermarks themselves, which often followed the same broad pattern for several years. In the case of Add. 31427, the combination of Janssen's and Touzeau's initials in an English source makes it almost certain that the partbooks date from after 1679 and were therefore copied after Jenkins' death.

The books, in oblong quarto, measure 183 mm. x 230 mm, and all pages have six staves. On paper with marks a and b these measure 12 mm. x 195 mm., ruled with a three-stave rastrum of 62 mm.; over six staves, 138 mm. These measurements are closely similar to those of Gabriel Roberts' 1680 collection, Lbl Add.31431 (see



Ch. IX). The c and d paper has similar staves, but the three-stave rastrum measured 61 mm. and the measurement over six staves in 133.5 mm. The distribution of the marks in the partbooks is set out in Table II below.

TABLE I

## John Jenkins' 'Little Consort': concordances

| Add.31427<br>position | Key | Lcm 4341<br>no. | Lbl Add.<br>31423 no. | Ob MS North<br>e.37 no. | VDGS<br>no. |
|-----------------------|-----|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| I/1                   | Bb  | 13              | [5 (f.179)            | 33                      | 173         |
| I/2                   |     | 15              | 8                     | 36                      | 176         |
| I/3                   |     | 12              | 6                     | 34                      | 174         |
| I/4                   |     | 14              | 7                     | 35                      | 175         |
| I/5                   |     |                 |                       |                         |             |
| I/6                   |     |                 |                       |                         |             |
| I/7                   |     |                 |                       |                         |             |
| II/1                  | g   | 9               | 2 (f.178)             | 38                      | 138         |
| II/2                  |     | 10              | 3                     | 39                      | 139         |
| II/3                  |     | 7               | 1                     | 37                      | 137         |
| II/4                  |     | 11              | 4                     | 40                      | 140         |
| II/5                  |     |                 |                       |                         |             |
| II/6                  |     |                 |                       |                         |             |
| II/7                  |     |                 |                       |                         |             |
| III/1                 | D   |                 |                       |                         | 167         |
| III/2-6               | c   |                 |                       |                         | 168-172     |
| IV/1-3                | G   |                 |                       |                         | 151-153     |
| V/1                   | D   | 16              | 10 (f.179)            | 42                      | 155         |
| V/2                   |     | 19              | 12                    | 44                      | 157         |
| V/3                   |     | 17              | 11                    | 43                      | 156         |
| V/4                   |     | 18              | 9J                    | 41                      | 154         |
| V/5                   |     |                 |                       |                         |             |
| V/6                   |     |                 |                       |                         |             |
| V/7                   |     |                 |                       |                         |             |

VI

D-d-D '

161

Add.31427 VI is 'Lady Katherine Audley's Bells'. This work, which exists in several different arrangements, is not part of the 'Little Consort' and has the following concordances:

John Playford, Courtly Masquing Ayres, 1662, no.102; Ob MSS Mus.Sch. c.88 f.12v; c.95 p.24; d.220 p.105; Och MS 1175; Worcester MS Vicars Choral 9; Griffith Boynton MS (privately owned) f.23v; US-NH Filmer A 16 a-c f.53; NYp Drexel 3849 p.105.

The earliest version is the one for treble, bass, lyra viol and harpsichord in Mus.Sch. c.88.<sup>8</sup> The variety of different arrangements in other sources is proof of the work's popularity: Roger North said of it 'of all his [Jenkins'] conceits none flew about with his name so universally as the small piece called his Bells'.<sup>9</sup>

TABLE II

Add.31427: distribution of watermarks

## First treble

| Folio | Mark | Folio | Mark |
|-------|------|-------|------|
| 1     | a1   | 8     | b4   |
| 2     | a2   | 9     | b3   |
| 3     | a3   | 10    | b4   |
| 4     | a4   | 11    | b1   |
| 5     | b1   | 12    | b2   |
| 6     | b2   | 13    | d2   |
| 7     | b3   |       |      |

## Second treble

|    |    |    |    |
|----|----|----|----|
| 14 | c3 | 21 | a2 |
| 15 | c4 | 22 | c3 |
| 16 | c1 | 23 | c4 |
| 17 | c2 | 24 | c1 |
| 18 | a3 | 25 | c2 |
| 19 | a4 | 26 | c4 |
| 20 | a1 |    |    |

## Bass

|    |    |    |    |
|----|----|----|----|
| 28 | b1 | 35 | b4 |
| 29 | b2 | 36 | c3 |
| 30 | b3 | 37 | c4 |
| 31 | b4 | 38 | c1 |
| 32 | b1 | 39 | c2 |
| 33 | b2 | 40 | c1 |
| 34 | b3 |    |    |

**British Library 'Additional Manuscript 30930**  
**(Watermark XLII)**

British Library Add. MS 30930 is a Purcell autograph inscribed on f.2 'The Works of Hen. Purcell Anno Dom. 1680'. It contains choral music between folios 3 and 29 and, reversing the manuscript, instrumental works between folios 30v and 71,<sup>10</sup> including all of the fantasias<sup>11</sup> and seven of the ten sonatas published in 1697;<sup>12</sup> a further sonata exists in fragments. The four-part fantasias have dates in the score ranging from 10 June to 31 August 1680.

The score contains a large number of ruled but unused folios, and has clearly been misbound, as some works have been divided in two. It has been suggested that the unused pages might have been added in the nineteenth century,<sup>13</sup> or that Purcell himself inserted new paper after removing some complete sonatas to include in his 1683 publication,<sup>14</sup> but it is highly improbable that new paper was added to the score even in Purcell's lifetime. All of the paper in the book, used and unused, comes from a single pair of moulds with a fleur-de-lys watermark countermarked IHS/ET: this uniformity of paper, matched by a similar uniformity of stave-ruling and the absence of binder's marks, is the clearest possible evidence that Purcell acquired the score as a bound volume and that no further material was added to it. Scores which have been built up over a period of time, such as Lbl Add.10338, and bound volumes to which later additions have been made, such as Add. 17801, invariably reflect their history in their watermarks and other aspects of paper.

Watermarks and paper (see illustration XLII)

The two fleur-de-lys marks of Add.30930 and their countermarks illustrate the final development of the Angoumois fleur-de-lys/IHS combination in the seventeenth century. The marks are large and finely formed, with an even more elaborate decoration of the crown than was seen in Ob MSS Mus.Sch. c.54-57 (1668), and the countermarks are both larger and more regular than in the earlier source. Although there is no evidence in the paper that Abraham Janssen was involved in its manufacture or sale, the craftsman identified as 'ET', probably Étienne Touzeau, made some of the paper of Lbl Add.31427 for Janssen and is shown by Add.29558 folios 150-151 to have worked for Janssen in 1681.

The paper is exceptionally large, each folio measuring c. 408 mm. x 260 mm., and the ruling of sixteen staves, 11 mm. x 225 mm., is clearly suitable for a score rather than partbooks. This kind of ruling is unlikely to have been kept in stock by the stationer, as the standard rulings of partbooks undoubtedly were, and was probably made to order. Pietro Reggio's score Lbl Harleian MS 1501 has identical paper to Add.30930, but a completely different ruling of twelve 15 mm. staves: it is inscribed 'Scritto a richesta di Monsieur Didie in Londra Anno Domini 1681'.

# British Library 'Additional Manuscript 33234

(Watermarks XXIX - XXXI)

British Library Add. MS 33234 is a score containing a wide variety of music for voices and continuo by English and Italian composers, including sacred and secular works from several decades. Its contents are set out in Table IV below.

A note on the surviving board cover identifies the owner of the volume: 'Liber Caroli Morgan e Coll. Magd. Dec. 6to Die 7bris Anno Domini 1682'. The table of contents on folios 1 and 2 and the texts throughout the score seem to be in the same hand as this inscription. Charles Morgan, described as 'paup. pleb.', matriculated at Christ Church in April 1677: he graduated B.A. at Magdalen in 1681 and M.A. in 1684.<sup>15</sup> Nothing else is known about him, but the wide and serious interest in music evident from this score suggests that he might be identified with the 'Mr Morgan',<sup>16</sup> who composed music for a revival of Dryden's Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen, perhaps c.1689,<sup>17</sup> Scott's The Mock Marriage, 1696,<sup>18</sup> and a revival of Lacy's The Old Troop, or Monsieur Raggou, possibly in 1705.<sup>19</sup>

Add.33234 contains a total of eighty-seven works, of which twenty-two, mostly secular, were published between 1679 and 1688, although it should not be assumed that the music was always copied from a printed version. Apart from the works of Italians resident in England, Draghi and Reggio, there are a further twenty by Italian composers, the earliest of which are two humorous madrigals by Tarquinio Merula. The music by Sances, Trabbatone, Marini and,

other than the incomplete mass at the end of the volume, *Carissimi*, is all found in George Jeffreys' collection Lbl Add.31479: a thematic catalogue and brief comments on these composers are given in Ch. X below. Other Italian sacred music in Add.33234 is by Gaspari Casati (1610-1641), maestro di capella of Novara Cathedral from 1635; Natale Monferrato (c.1603-1685); Bonifacio Graziani (1604-1664) and Maurizio Cazzati (1620-1677), maestro di capella at San Petronio Bologna, whose trio sonatas certainly formed part of the English repertory before 1680 (see Ch. XI). The composer 'Silvestro' is probably Florido de Silvestri,<sup>20</sup> more famous as the anthologist responsible for some important mid-century collections of motets,<sup>21</sup> who died after 1672. Stradella (1644-1682) is represented by a single secular cantata, and Rovetta, a little of whose sacred music appears in Lbl Add.31437 and 31479 (see Ch. X), was the composer of at least one of the Italian secular songs.

Morgan probably copied his Italian music from sources he came across in Oxford: several late seventeenth-century Music School manuscripts, such as Mus.Sch. c.12-19, contain a similar type of repertory.<sup>22</sup> Some of the English composers represented in the score also have close associations with Oxford: Henry Aldrich entered Christ Church in 1662 and became its Dean in 1689, and Sampson Estwick (c.1656-1739), author of a sermon published in 1697 defending church music,<sup>23</sup> was chaplain of Christ Church under Dean Aldrich. These men practised music as amateurs, pursuing distinguished careers in other fields. Henry Bowman (fl. 1680-1695), probably more exclusively a musician than the



previous two, seems to have worked only at Oxford.

Other music in the score ranges from anthems by Purcell and Blow to lighter songs and catches, and to one piece of scatological political satire about Monmouth's rebellion of 1685 set to music by Purcell, a marked contrast to the solemn religious music found elsewhere in the volume.<sup>24</sup> The contents seem to consist of music collected by Morgan between c.1682 and c.1691, the date of Purcell's King Arthur, with no other criterion for inclusion apart from his finding it attractive or amusing. In consequence, Add.33234 is a personal collection which perhaps tells us more about the place of music in seventeenth-century life than other, more formal, anthologies.

Watermarks and paper (see illustrations XXIX - XXXI)

The paper of Add.33234 has three types of watermark, all foolscaps, but other features of ruling and quiring suggest that they were all part of a single original volume. Mark 1 has the initials of Abraham Janssen beneath and is countermarked PB. Mark 2 does not have Janssen's initials, but its countermark IM identifies Jean Monédière, who is shown by a ream wrapper to have been working for Janssen at the Puy Moyen mill in 1683.<sup>25</sup> Mark 3, which has no personal features, is of the same general pattern. All of the paper is ruled with twelve staves using a six-stave rastrum, which on the mark 1 paper measures 138 mm, and on paper with marks 2 and 3 measures 131 mm., although the mark 3 staves are less wide.

The volume consists almost entirely of six-folio gatherings,

the first twenty-four lettered A-Z for the binder. Subsequent gatherings, from f.149 onwards, have no binder's marks and were therefore unused at the time of binding. All of the unlettered gatherings consist of mark 2 paper, which also appears in previous lettered gatherings. As the construction of the volume is so regular, a folio-by-folio description is unnecessary: the following table shows the distribution of the different types of paper in the score.

Table III

| Gathering | Initial folio | Watermark           |
|-----------|---------------|---------------------|
| A         | 3             | 1                   |
| B         | 9             | 1                   |
| C         | 15            | 1                   |
| D         | 21            | 1                   |
| E         | 27            | 1                   |
| F         | 33            | 1 (fols.<br>35-6,2) |
| G         | 39            | 1                   |
| H         | 43            | 1                   |
| J         | 49            | 1                   |
| K         | 55            | 1                   |
| L         | 61            | 1                   |
| M         | 67            | 1                   |
| N         | 73            | 2                   |
| O         | 79            | 1                   |
| P         | 85            | 1                   |
| Q         | 91            | 1                   |
| R         | 97            | 1                   |
| S         | 103           | 3                   |

|   |     |   |
|---|-----|---|
| T | 111 | 3 |
| U | 119 | 1 |
| W | 125 | 1 |
| X | 131 | 2 |
| Y | 137 | 2 |
| Z | 143 | 2 |

The subsequent unlettered gatherings all consist of mark 2 paper.

The presence of a single bifolium of mark 2 paper, with its distinctive ruling, in gathering F suggests that paper with marks 1 and 2 was supplied at the same time; the identical ruling of mark 2 and 3 papers suggests that they also are contemporary. The best explanation is that Morgan obtained all of the paper in book form, and copied music into the first twenty-four gatherings from 1682, when he inscribed the board, onwards. The binder's marks probably belong to a rebinding in the late 1680s, when there was still a substantial amount of unused paper left. A large book would have been more suitable than loose papers for the cumulative collection Morgan evidently wished to acquire, and the inscription 'Liber Caroli Morgan ... 1682' shows that a book of some kind existed in that year. The need for rebinding, apparently without the addition of new paper, so soon after the book was purchased suggests that the original binding was inexpensive and insubstantial: in this respect, as well as in the use of a plain board without leather, the book would have been in keeping with Morgan's social position in 1682.

## TABLE IV

## Lb1 Add.33234: contents and printed concordances

## References (column 4)

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| D&M   | C.L. Day and E.M. Murrie, <u>English Song Books, 1651-1702: a bibliography</u> , London 1940.  |
| H     | Rosamund E.M. Harding, <u>A Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke</u> , Oxford 1971.  |
| Jones | Andrew V.Jones, <u>The Motets of Carissimi</u> , Ann Arbor 1982.   |
| MIVP  | Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure & Claudio Sartori, <u>Bibliografia della musica Italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700</u> , Geneva(?) 1978. |
| PPur  | Curtis A. Price, <u>Henry Purcell and the London Stage</u> , Cambridge 1984.   |
| PR    | Curtis A. Price, <u>Music in the Restoration Theatre</u> , Ann Arbor 1979.   |
| Z     | Franklin B. Zimmerman, <u>Henry Purcell, 1659-1696: an Analytical Catalogue of his Music</u> , London 1963.  |

Further notes, where necessary, are placed at the end of the table.

## Printed sources (column 5)

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| Blow 1700 | John Blow, <u>Amphion Anglicus</u> , London 1700.                                       |
| Brown1682 | D. Brown & T.Benskin, <u>The Newest Collection of the Choicest Songs</u> , London 1682. |

- Casati 1647 Gasparo Casati, Operis primis pars prior, continens moteta una e duabus vocibus ...., Antwerp 1647.
- Marini 1637 Francesco Maria Marini, Concerti Spirituali ... a 2,3,4,5,6,7 voci & con instrumenti. Liber primo, Venice 1637.
- Monferrato 1655 Natale Monferrato, Motetti Concertante Liber I, op.3, Venice 1655.
- Patrick 1684 John Patrick, A Century of Select Psalms ... the Second Edition corrected, London 1684.
- P1679 John Playford, Choice Ayres and Songs ... the Second Book, London 1679.
- P1681 John Playford, Choice Ayres and Songs, London 1681.
- P1683 John Playford, Choice Ayres and Songs, London 1683.
- P1684 John Playford, Choice Ayres and Songs, London 1684.
- P1685/1 Henry Playford, The Theater of Music, London 1685.
- P1685/2 Henry Playford, The Theater of Music... the Second Book, London 1685.
- P1686 Henry Playford, The Theater of Music, London 1686.
- P1687/1 Henry Playford, The Theater of Music, London 1687.
- P1687/2 Henry Playford, The Banquet of Music, London 1687.
- P1688 Henry Playford, The Banquet of Music, London 1688.
- P1691 Henry Playford, The Banquet of Music, London 1691.
- P1695 Henry Playford, The New Treasury of Music, London 1695.

- PC1685 John Playford, Catch that Catch Can,  
London 1685.
- PC1686 John Playford, The Second Book of the  
Pleasant Musical Companion, London 1686.
- Pur1698 Henry Purcell, Orpheus Britannicus,  
London 1698.
- Reggio 1680 Pietro Reggio, Songs set by Signior  
Pietro Reggio, London 1680.
- Rovetta 1629 Giovanni Rovetta, Madrigali Concertati ...  
Libro Primo, opera seconda, Venice  
1629.
- Sances 1638 Giovanni Felice Sances, Motetti a una,  
due, tre e quattro voce, Venice 1638.
- Trabbatone 1629 Egidio Trabbatone, Motetti Concerti  
a 2,3 e 4 voci, Libro secundo, Op.4,  
Venice 1629.
- d'Urfey 1700 Thomas d'Urfey, Wit and Mirth, or Pills  
to Purge Melancholy, London 1700.

6 Notes (see end of table)

5 Printed sources

4 References

3 Ascription

2 Title

1 Folio

|     |                              |              |              |                    |  |
|-----|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|--|
| 3   | Un jour le berger Tirsis     |              |              |                    |  |
| 3v  | Though our town be destroyed | Blow         | D&M 3323     | P1688              |  |
| 4v  | I am come into my garden     | Aldrich      |              |                    |  |
| 6v  | Underneath this myrtle shade | Reggio       |              |                    |  |
| 7v  | Here's a health to the King  |              |              |                    |  |
| 8   | Nominativo hic haec hoc      | Merula       |              |                    |  |
| 10v | Nominativo quis              | Merula       |              |                    |  |
| 13  | Lucifer coelestis            | Carissiml    | Jones ii, 62 | See Ch.X, Table II |  |
| 15  | Wake, sleeping ones          | Reggio       |              |                    |  |
| 17  | Hercules in his cradle       | Reggio       |              |                    |  |
| 19  | I'll sing of heroes          | Reggio       | D&M 1635     | Reggio 1680        |  |
| 20  | Awake my lyre                | Reggio       | D&M 282      | Reggio 1680        |  |
|     | Awake my lyre                | Mr John Blow | D&M 282      | P1681              |  |

| 1   | 2                              | 3               | 4        | 5                         | 6 |
|-----|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------|---------------------------|---|
| 26v | O Time, thy wings are wet      |                 |          |                           |   |
| 28v | The bread is all baked         | Banister        |          |                           |   |
| 30v | From lasting and unclouded day | Banister        |          |                           |   |
| 32  | The morning song               | Cook            |          |                           |   |
| 33  | The evening song               | Cook            |          |                           |   |
| 34  | Ye cats that at midnight       | John White      |          |                           |   |
| 34v | Beneath a shady willow         | Mr Turner       |          |                           | a |
| 35  | A new year's song              | Mr Locke        | H 56     |                           | b |
| 38  | Arise, ye subterranean winds   | Reggio          | D&M 188  | Reggio 1680               |   |
| 39  | Often I am by the women told   | Reggio          |          |                           |   |
| 40  | You solitary deserts           | Reggio          |          |                           |   |
| 41  | Alleluia                       | Cazzati         |          |                           |   |
| 44  | Anima mea liquefacta est       | Maria Marina    |          | Marina 1637               |   |
| 46  | All the follies of love        | Henry Hall      |          |                           |   |
| 47  | O that mine eyes               | Loosmore        | Z S16    |                           | c |
| 48  | Justly now let's tribute pay   | Wise            |          |                           |   |
| 49  | Go, perjured man               | Dr Blow         | D&M 1148 | P1683; P1687/1; Blow 1700 |   |
| 51  | An amorous sigh                | Sampson Estwick |          |                           |   |



| 1   | 2                                 | 3          | 4          | 5                 | 6          |
|-----|-----------------------------------|------------|------------|-------------------|------------|
| 52v | Io mi misento morir               | Rovetta    | MITVP 2461 | Rovetta 1629 no.3 |            |
| 55  | Haste, gentle Charon              | H.Purcell  | Z 490      |                   |            |
| 57  | Has yet your breast no pity found | H.Purcell  | Z 491      |                   |            |
| 59  | Cure, nymph, O cure               | Hart       | D&M 779    | P1679             |            |
| 59v | Hark, Damon, hark                 | Purcell    | Z 541      |                   |            |
| 61  | Miserere                          | Bowman     |            |                   |            |
| 70  | Anima mea in aeterna              | Carissum   | Jones ii,9 | Trabbatone 1629   | d          |
| 72v | Turn thee unto me, O Lord         | Blow       |            |                   |            |
| 74v | I waited patiently for the Lord   | Aldrich    |            |                   |            |
| 79  | Give the King thy judgements      | Aldrich    |            |                   |            |
| 82  | Alas, how barbarous               | Purcell    | Z 482      |                   |            |
| 83  | Come poetry                       | Blow       | D&M 701    | P1687/2           |            |
| 85  | Plage tua Domine                  | Sances     |            | Sances 1638       |            |
| 89v | Salve Regina                      | Monferrato |            |                   |            |
| 92v | O Domine guttae                   | Sances     |            | Sances 1638       |            |
| 96  | O bone Jesu                       | Cassat     |            | Casat             | 1647 no.8  |
| 100 | Magnificate coeli                 | Cassat     |            | Casat             | 1647 no.13 |
| 103 | Exultate justi                    | Cassat     |            | Casat             | 1647 no.12 |
| 105 | O dulce nomen Jesu                | Caspar     | Cassat     | Casat             | 1647 no.9  |

| 1    | 2                                  | 3               | 4                 | 5                     | 6 |
|------|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---|
| 107v | Tota pulchra es                    | Cassati         |                   | Casati 1647 no.10     |   |
| 110  | Regina coeli                       | Monferrato      |                   | Monferrato 1655 no.12 |   |
| 112  | Audite sancti                      | Carissimi       | Jones ii,15       | See Ch.X, Table II    |   |
| 115v | Lontani del core                   |                 |                   |                       |   |
| 118v | Sopra un eccelsa torre             | Stradella       |                   |                       |   |
| 123v | Lovely Selina                      | Dr Blow         | D&M 2131;PR 213-4 | P1683; Brown1682      | e |
| 124v | She loves, and she confesses too   | Purcell         | Z 413             | P1683;P1695;Purl1698  |   |
| 125v | From silent shades                 | Purcell         | Z 370             | P1683;P1695;Purl1698  |   |
| 127v | In vain, brisk God                 | Dr Blow         | D&M 1790          | P1683                 |   |
| 128  | Why does the morn in blushes rise  | Purcell         | Z S66             | P1683; d'Urfey 1700   | f |
| 129  | Whilst our flocks feed             | Hart            | D&M 3886          | P1683                 |   |
| 129v | Haste, Charon,haste                | Hall            | D&M 1275          | P1685/2               |   |
| 132v | Cantate Domino                     | Silvestro       |                   |                       |   |
| 135  | Amante che dite                    |                 |                   |                       |   |
| 136v | Post hoc audiui                    | Mr Blow         |                   |                       |   |
| 139  | In lectulo meo                     | Mr Blow         |                   |                       |   |
| 140v | What art thou, love                | Sampson Estwick |                   |                       |   |
| 142  | When I a parting kiss did take     |                 |                   |                       |   |
| 143  | When on Septentia's panting breast | Blow            | D&M 3883          | P1685/1; Blow 1700    |   |
| 145v | Urge me no more                    | Purcell         | Z 426             |                       |   |

| 1    | 2                             | 3             | 4                            | 5                | 6 |
|------|-------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------|---|
| 147  | Peacefull is he               | Blow          |                              |                  |   |
| 148v | Old Chiron thus preached      | Wise          |                              | PC1685;PC1686    |   |
| 149v | Where art thou, God of dreams | Sgr. Batteist | D&M 2951;Z S61               |                  |   |
| 151  | When on my sick bed           | Purcell       | D&M 3841                     | P1686            | g |
| 154  | Plung'd in the confines       | Purcell       | Z 144                        |                  |   |
| 156v | O all ye people               | Purcell       | Z 142                        |                  |   |
| 161v | Alexis, dear Alexis           | Purcell       | Z 138                        | Patrick 1684     |   |
| 163  | Velut palma                   | Blow          | D&M 105                      | P1684            |   |
| 166  | Sciocca pur tutti             | Gratiana      |                              |                  | h |
| 167  | The clear cavalier            | Banister      |                              |                  |   |
| 167v | Lovely Clarinda               |               |                              |                  |   |
| 168v | Chear up, my friends          |               | D&M 537                      | P1681            | J |
| 169v | A grasshopper and a fly       |               | Z 481                        | P1686            | k |
| 170v | O Nigrocella                  | Blow          | D&M 2512                     | P1691; Blow 1700 |   |
| 171v | How happy the lover           | Purcell       | Z 628/30bcef;<br>PPur 308-12 |                  | l |
| 172v | Let Caesar and Urania live    | Purcell       | Z 335/5a                     |                  | m |
| 174  | Tronchi si                    |               |                              |                  | n |
| 175v | Mass                          | Carlssim      |                              |                  | o |

## NOTES TO TABLE IV

- a. Not the version ascribed to Wise in PC1685 and PC1686
- b. 'A song in Madam Fickle'.
- c. Ascribed to Purcell in later and less reliable sources:  
see Z. It is not clear which Loosemore is the composer.
- d. Ascribed to Carissimi here and in Add.31479 but really by  
Trabbatone.
- e. In a revival of Lee's Princess of Cleve, 1689. The play was  
first performed between September 1680 and December 1682:  
see PR 213-4.
- f. Really by Blow.
- g. Ascribed to Draghi in the prints.
- h.Lbl Add.19759 f.16: 'An Italian Song to Baptista's ground  
Scoca pur'; Add.22100 f.77v asc. 'Baptist'; Add.33235 f.47,  
anon. Probably by G.B. Draghi.
- j. Incomplete.
- k. Reference to Monmouth's rebellion, 1685. By Purcell.
- l. From King Arthur, 1691.
- m. From 'Sound the trumpet, beat the drum', 1687.
- n. Incomplete.
- o. Incomplete.

British Library Additional Manuscripts 29283-29285

(Watermarks XLV, XLIX, LIII)

These three books contain a collection of three-part instrumental music begun in 1682, consisting, apart from Locke's Little Consort of 1656, mostly of music contemporary with the period of copying (see Table V overleaf). There are several sets of tunes from plays performed in the early 1680s.

Much of the music appears to be unique, including the movements by John Hilton (1599-1657) and John Withie (d. after 1673) which together with the Locke represent an earlier period than the other music. John Withie was the father of Francis Withie of Oxford, and it is not impossible that the pieces ascribed to Wood are by Anthony Wood of that city, whose interest in music as a performer, listener and collector is well documented.<sup>26</sup> The material copied up to f.15 therefore seems to stand apart from the music from f.15v onwards, the identifiable composers of which all worked in London after 1682 apart from Matthew Locke (d.1677) whose Little Consort here is a copy of the printed version of 1656. English composers include 'Egles', who is Solomon Eccles, member of family of London musicians, Thomas Farmer (d. 1688), Nicholas Staggs, another Londoner, who was awarded the Cambridge Mus.D in 1682, Forcer (c.1650-1704) and Gorton. The foreign composers Grabue (fl. 1665-1694) and Diesineer (fl. 1660-1684) likewise worked in London.

## TABLE V

Lb1 Add.29283-5: Titles and ascriptions

## References:

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| Harding | Rosamund E.M. Harding, <u>A Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke</u> , Oxford 1971. |
| PR      | Curtis A.Price, <u>Music in the Restoration Theatre</u> , Ann Arbor 1979.                       |
| Simpson | Claude M. Simpson, <u>The British Broadside Ballad and its Music</u> , London 1966.             |

| Ascription and title  | Add.29283<br>folio | Comments and references                 |
|---|--------------------|---|
| Hilton  | 3v                 |   |
| Withie  | 6                  | John Withie: d. after 1673.             |
| Wood June 1682  | 10v                |   |
| Mr Sol. Egles tunes in ye play called Venice Preserved, or A plot discovered                | 15v                | 1682: PR 229                            |
| Here followeth Matthew Locke his little Consort containing Pavans Ayres Corants & Sarabands | 20                 | Harding 1321-10, pp. 95-8, and Table II |
| Diesineer   | 31v                |   |
| Ric. Girdler 1682   | 35v                |   |
| Baptist & Dr Blow   | 37                 |   |
| Diesineer   | 37v                |   |
| Nameless 1682   | 38v                |   |
| Farmer Decemb 1682  | 42v                |   |
| Diesineer   | 45                 |   |
| Baptist   | 51v                |   |
| Baptist   | 52v                |   |
| F. Forcer Feb 82/3  | 56v                |   |
| Diesineer   | 59v                |   |

|  |         |  |
|--|---------|--|
| Blow   | 61v     |  |
| Sr. Nichol   | 62      |  |
| Famer's tunes in ye play called ye Princess of Cleve   | 62v     | 1680-82: PR 213-4  |
| Egles tunes in Sr Timothy Treathall  | 65v     | From <u>The City Heiress</u> , 1682: PR 153                                  |
| Egles 1683 Septem  | 68v     |  |
| Courtenell Decemb 1683 (later books 147)   | 72v     |  |
| Grabue, for ye play called ye Disappointment, or<br>ye Mother in Fashion 1684 (in other books) | 75v     | PR 159-60  |
| Egles August 1684  | 77v     |  |
| Dr Stagging 7th  | 80v     |  |
| Mr Compton   |         |  |
| Nameless   | 82v     |  |
| Mr Gorton  | 84v     | From Fletcher's <u>The Humorous<br/>Lieutenant</u> , revived 1697? PR 178    |
| Farmer Overture  | 85v     |  |
| Finis Farmer June 9 1691   | 93      | <u>Consort of Music in Four Parts,</u><br><u>London 1686.</u>                |
| [Anonymous]  | 93v     | Different hand   |
| 'De 'l take ye war'  | 94      | A further hand: from d'Urfeys<br>A Wife for any Man, 1696. Simpson<br>178-9. |
| [Notes on theory]  | 95v-97v |  |



Each of the three books has the inscription 'Th Fuller', also found in Lbl Add.31429. Both the British Library's Catalogue of Additions<sup>27</sup> and a pencil comment added by a later owner in Add.31429 identify this man with the physician Thomas Fuller (1654-1734), an eminent doctor and author who practised at Sevenoaks.<sup>28</sup> More positive identification may have existed inside the original boards of Add.29283-5, of which only fragments of leather now survive; nevertheless, these are sufficient to show that the books were completed with elegant bindings. Thomas Fuller's background does not seem to have been poor, although he was admitted to Queen's College Cambridge in 1671 as a sizar, a class of student required to perform menial duties in place of paying fees. He graduated M.B. in 1676 and M.D. in 1681, and in 1679 became an extra-licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. In Sevenoaks he was 'greatly esteemed by the rich and adored by the poor to whom he was an especial benefactor'; a measure of his success is the fine house illustrated in Harris's History of Kent of 1719, to which Fuller was a subscriber.<sup>29</sup>

Thomas Fuller was the author not only of medical works, but also of two books of moral precepts and advice for the young: Directions, Counsels & Cautions, tending to prudent Management of Affairs in Common Life, London 1725, and Adigies, Proverbs, Wise Sentiments and Witty Sayings, Ancient and Modern, Foreign and British, London 1732. The first of these contains a paragraph which reveals Dr Fuller's view of music:

Think, and find out what it is that thy delight is really upon; as Company, Hunting, bodily Exercise, Cards, Musick. And then give thyself all the Pleasure tho canst, without squandering away precious Time, or otherwise prejudicing thy self or others. Thou art not to be always chained up to thy Oar; therefore let life be as nature ordained it; some Labour, some Pleasure, some Rest.<sup>30</sup>

Fuller evidently looked upon his music not as a medium of intellectual life but as a recreation conducive to good health; his attitude is essentially practical, even materialistic. Music is not a thing good in itself, but a harmless recreation to refresh men for further work.<sup>31</sup> His collection of music is in keeping with these principles, containing little from the English fantasia tradition but much derived from recent plays, and in this respect contrasts with the collection of the older Gabriel Roberts, Lbl Add.31431, which includes Locke's Broken Consort rather than the less weighty Little Consort, polyphonic fantasias by Christopher Gibbons, and only one piece of theatre music, an 'excellent curtain tune' by Locke. Gabriel Roberts, however, was as hard-headed a businessman as any in London, and the seriousness of the music in his collection certainly does not imply his 'squandering away precious Time'. The difference between the two collections seems to reflect a change not in the place of music as a leisure activity and the amount of time devoted to it, but in the nature of the recreation (Fuller places music in the same class of activity as 'Hunting, bodily Exercise, Cards') and in the type of music that was considered recreational.

Add.29283 is inscribed 'Th Fuller 1682' and up to f.44 there is no music dated later than December of that year. At an early stage, then, possibly before Fuller took possession of the books, much of the music had been copied. Further copying took place in 1683 and 1684, and the Farmer pieces dated 1691, a copy of his Consort of Music in Four Parts of 1686, seems to have been added rather later than most of the contents; the same is probably true of the Gorton pieces, as he did not become prominent until the 1690s. These later additions, however, do not match the extent of the material copied by 1684. The consistent use of the same pair of Amsterdam watermarks on all of the original music pages, the absence of marks for the binder, and some peculiarities affecting end-papers in Add.29284 (see below) suggest that the books were supplied as bound volumes, perhaps with the music up to f. 44 already copied.

It would be pleasant to think of Dr Fuller following his own precepts and refreshing his mind by copying music, but the evidence is to the contrary. If the various 'T. Fuller' and 'Th Fuller' inscriptions are in his own hand, neither the table of contents in Add.29283 f.2 nor the majority of the ascriptions and comments throughout the books were written by him. The only exception may be in an addition to the main content of the books, the title of 'The bass of Faranel's ground' which is copied in a different music hand on f.3 of Add.29283. The copyist of the main material used the 'ye' form of the definite article, for example on Add.29283 f.34v: 'Upon a mistake this is ye 2d treble';

whoever wrote the title of 'Faranel's ground' used the modern form. The probable history of the partbooks is that they were supplied to Fuller in 1682 with some of their material already copied, and then returned by him from time to time, apparently in 1683, 1684 and 1691, for the same professional copyist to make additions of recent music.

Watermarks and paper (see illustrations XLV, XLIX, LIII)

The main watermark of the source is an Amsterdam arms with the factor's initials HC below. There is no countermark, in spite of the 1671 regulations, but a mill or factor engaged in the export trade would have no reason to worry that customers might complain about the violation of a French domestic law. Many Angoumois marks appear without the maker's initials.

Heawood has several examples of the HC factor's mark, all but one dated between 1676 and 1686: the disappearance of the initials after 1686, apart from an isolated specimen in 1690, probably means that 'HC' ceased to trade in the Angoumois as a result of the upheavals caused first by the persecution of Protestant craftsmen and then by the disruption of the Nine Years' War (1688-1697), when mills relying on exports suffered severely. The pages measure 154 mm. x 195 mm. and there are five staves, c.12.5 mm. x 163 mm., ruled with a five-stave rastrum measuring 116 mm.

Two types of paper have been used for end-papers, one marked

with a crude Amsterdam arms (XLIX), the other with an oak leaf and acorn pattern (LIII). Folios 90 to 92 of Add.29284 consist of these types of paper ruled for music one line at a time:

|    |   |
|----|---|
| 90 | End-paper 1 (half-sheet)                              |
| 91 | End-paper 2   |
| 92 | End-paper 2   |
| 93 | Main mark, lower half, pasted in the wrong way round. |

Folios 91 and 92 are evidently the original end-papers of Add. 29284, ruled up because the original music paper was finished. Two further folios, 90 and 93, had to be provided from elsewhere. At the end of Add.29285 the pattern of folios is thus:

|            |               |
|------------|---------------|
| Main paper | unmarked      |
| Main paper | watermark top |
| Main paper | unmarked      |
| End-paper  |               |

The missing folio of the main paper, which should have the lower half of the watermark, is probably the one now in Add.29284 as f.93: it measures 153 mm. x 190 mm., which suggests that it was cut out of its original position. The end-paper missing from Add. 29285 was probably transferred to Add.29284 as f.90. These rearrangements of paper show that in 1691 the books were bound and there was no likelihood of their being re-bound in the near future, in which case the more satisfactory alternative of adding a new gathering of music paper to Add.29284 might have been adopted.

The manuscripts in this chapter dated 1680 and 1682 provide examples of types of watermark commonly found in English music sources. In addition, the Dutch lion, which did not appear in any of the dated material, is frequently combined with the factor's initials AJ and the countermarks of identifiable craftsmen which show that it also dates from the same period: the general pattern of this type of mark is illustrated in a later example from Lbl Add. 35043 (see below and watermark LII).

Although none of the dated manuscripts is later than 1682, there was no reason for the supply of Angoumois paper by Dutch factors to have been interrupted before 1688, and the occurrence of an evidently Angoumois fleur-de-lys with the factor's mark of Gillis van Hoven and the countermark DI in the Lord Chamberlain's accounts for 1686<sup>32</sup> shows that although different craftsmen and merchants might have become involved, the pattern of trade did not change: the many appearances of the factor's mark HC recorded by Heawood similarly provide evidence of continuing supply from the Angoumois.<sup>33</sup> In 1688, however, two at first unconnected political developments ensured that the pattern of the English trade in high-quality paper, and thus the material of music manuscripts, would soon be completely altered.

In the autumn of 1688 a French army invaded the Rhineland Palatinate and systematically laid it waste.<sup>34</sup> In November of the same year William of Orange landed in Torbay and in an equally significant but bloodless campaign quickly ousted James II and took effective power in England.<sup>35</sup> Jointly with his wife Mary,

William was formally offered the crown on 13 February 1689, and by the end of that year England had joined the Empire and the United Provinces in a hitherto unthinkable offensive alliance against France<sup>36</sup> provoked by the invasion of the Palatinate: Louis XIV's border escapade had become a major European war. In spite of military successes, France had to accept unfavourable terms at the treaties of Ryswick (1696-7) because the expense of the war and its effects upon her industries could not be sustained:<sup>37</sup> the Angoumois paper industry, which relied heavily on exports to England and Holland, was amongst the industries most severely affected.

War with England and Holland did not inevitably entail the cessation of all trade with those countries,<sup>38</sup> although an Act prohibiting the import of French goods to Britain received the Royal Assent on 20 August 1689,<sup>39</sup> but it increased the risks and expenses of such trade, and made the French industry vulnerable to more favourably placed competitors. By 1689 Dutch white paper mills were in a position to take advantage of the situation, and new varieties of watermark and countermark appeared in English manuscripts as the Dutch mills took over the trade that had hitherto been dominated by the Angoumois. Some of the new marks are very similar to those made in France, no doubt because they were the work of French refugees or of those to whom they taught their skills, but others show significant differences.

Mark XLVII is from Lbl Add.17853, a large volume consisting of similar types of paper throughout and probably supplied as a bound book in spite of its varied contents, which range from

a series of treble parts of music by Lully and others to a collection of early eighteenth-century English keyboard music and a group of anthems by Greene. The date of the paper is indicated by the inscriptions '1694', 'May 4th 1694' and 'Sept 7th 94' found on folios 1, 34, and 34v, but apart from the unfamiliar countermark the paper is not very different from that of earlier sources. Lbl Add.35043, which contains treble parts from theatre music of the 1690s<sup>40</sup> and includes dates ranging from 1693 to 1697, differs more significantly from previous manuscripts: the Amsterdam arms countermarked WHC on the sheet forming folios 101 and 104 (XLVIII) is crude compared to those of French makers, and the lion countermarked CPG (a countermark also found in the Lord Chamberlain's accounts for 1690) seems to be a deliberate attempt to imitate the work of the late Claude de George (LII). Other countermarks found in this volume, DP on f.71 and the monogram HD on f.110 (marks LIV-LV), also belong to a new group of Dutch papermakers whose industry, at first under the shadow of the French, was strengthened by the influx of French Protestant refugees and developed to the point where it could supply both the domestic and English markets when conditions became favourable.

The period covered by this study has embraced three major phases in the English high-quality paper trade. At the end of the Civil War the main source of paper suitable for music appears to have been Normandy, but in the late 1650s the use of Italian paper in manuscripts such as Lbl Add.10337 suggests that there was some dissatisfaction with the Norman mills, and from c.1660 a second phase began in which paper from the Angoumois was almost



always used for music sources. The completeness of the change suggests that the sale of ruled music paper in England was in the hands of a small group of merchants, or even of a single firm. The Playfords, who regularly advertised ruled paper and manuscript books, are the most likely candidates: in 1664 John Playford advertised 'Dutch', that is, Angoumois paper ruled for music. The final phase, terminated by the outbreak of war in 1688, began after the end of the Franco-Dutch war of 1672-78, and is characterised by the domination of the market by a small group of Dutch merchants, notably Abraham Janssen, whose personal marks as well as those of their craftsmen are frequently found in paper. The war which began in 1688 created trading difficulties which outweighed the advantages of geography and traditional craftsmanship enjoyed by the Angoumois, and English merchants turned to Holland for the supply of high-quality paper, although by this time a native British industry was also developing.

These changes in the paper trade were due to a variety of causes: some technological; some to do with national or international politics; others connected with the commercial judgements and ambitions of men far removed from the centres of power. Their interrelationship causes the complex but comprehensible pattern of change in the paper trade that gives the material of each manuscript its distinctive character.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. Carr, Remarks, 10-11.
2. Sir William Temple, Observations on the United Provinces of the Netherlands, London 1673, 200-202. See also Carlo M. Cipolla (ed), The Fontana Economic History of Europe: the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, n.p. 1974, 549-51.
3. VDGS Provisional Index, Chelys vii (1977), 80-83.
4. Ibid., 74.
5. G. Babinet de Rencogne, Recueil de documents, 61-2.
6. Heawood has only one doubtful example before 1679. See also Voorn. De papiermolens, 134 and watermark 83.
7. David Ogg, Europe in the Seventeenth Century, 9th ed. London 1971, R/1975, 242-6.
8. Andrew Ashbee, 'Music for Treble, Bass and Organ by John Jenkins', Chelys vi (1975-6), 25-42, especially 38.
9. J. Wilson (ed), Roger North on Music, London 1959, 345-6.
10. For a detailed list of contents see Imogen Holst (ed), Henry Purcell 1659-1695, London 1959, Appendix A. See also Franklin B. Zimmerman, Henry Purcell, 1659-1695: an Analytical Catalogue of his Music, London 1963; Thurston Dart, 'Purcell's Chamber Music', PRMA lxxxv (1958-9), 81-93, especially 90, 93; Denis Stevens, 'Purcell's Art of Fantasia', ML xxxiii (1952), 341.

11. Modern ed. with commentary and list of sources: Henry Purcell, Fantasias and In Nomines (ed. Thurston Dart), London 1959.
12. Modern eds. with introduction and commentary: Henry Purcell, Ten Sonatas of Four Parts (ed. Michael Tilmouth), Borough Green 1981 (Purcell Society vii); Ten Sonatas in Four Parts, (ed. C. Hogwood), London 1978. Tilmouth's 1981 edition contains a thorough discussion (ix-xxiii) of the sonatas, their sources, and their relationship to Purcell's 1683 publication: see also Henry Purcell, Sonatas of Three Parts (ed. Roger Fiske), London 1975, i, p.VI.
13. Ten Sonatas (ed. Hogwood), i, p.V.
14. Dart, 'Purcell's Chamber Music', 93.
15. Foster, Alumni, iii, 1028. Charles Morgan also owned Och 1003: see John Caldwell, 'Sources of Keyboard Music to 1660: 2 (vi) British Isles', Grove xvii, 732.
16. Ian Spink, 'Morgan, Thomas', Grove xii, 573, suggests that the composer 'Mr Morgan' might be Thomas Morgan, an Irish organist. But Morgan's music for Secret Love, perhaps c.1689, could be earlier than the date of Thomas Morgan's departure for England.
17. Lbl Add.35043 folios 89-90. See Curtis A. Price, Music in the Restoration Theatre, Ann Arbor 1979, 220.
18. Lbl Add.35043 45v-46v. See Price, op. cit., 201-2.
19. Lbl Add.35043 39v-41v. See Price, op. cit., 207-8.
20. John Whenham, 'Silvestri, Florido de', Grove xvii, 320-1.

21. RISM: Recueils Imprimés, 16th & 17th Centuries: 1643<sup>1</sup>,  
1645<sup>2</sup>, 1646<sup>7</sup>, 1647<sup>2</sup>, 1648<sup>1</sup>, 1649<sup>2,3,4</sup>, 1650<sup>1</sup>, 1651<sup>1</sup>, 1652<sup>1</sup>,  
1652<sup>3</sup>, 1653<sup>4</sup>, 1654<sup>2</sup>, 1655<sup>1</sup>, 1659<sup>1</sup>, 1662<sup>2</sup>, 1663<sup>1</sup>, 1664<sup>1</sup>,  
1668<sup>1</sup>, 1672<sup>1</sup>.
22. See F. Madan, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts  
in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, v, Oxford 1905, 213.  
Other examples are Mus.Sch. c.10 (Madan p.212) and c.24-  
27 (Madan p.213).
23. Sampson Estwick, The Usefulness of Church Music, London  
1696; R/Los Angeles, 1955.
24. James Scott, Duke of Monmouth, was the eldest of Charles  
II's illegitimate sons. His mother, Lucy Walter, maintained  
that she and the King had been legally married, in which  
case Monmouth, and not Charles's brother James, was heir  
to the throne. Charles took the matter sufficiently seriously  
to make a public declaration of Monmouth's illegitimacy,  
but Monmouth remained a focus for political discontent  
and his abortive rebellion against James in 1685 at first  
gained some support. The constitutional implications of  
Lucy Walter's alleged marriage are the reason for the harsh  
attack on her in 'A Grasshopper and a Fly':

A grasshopper and a fly  
In summer hot and dry  
In eager argument were met about priority.  
Says the fly to the grasshopper  
From mighty race I spring  
Bright Phebus was my Dadd 'tis known,  
And I eat and drink with the king.

Says the grasshopper to the fly,  
 Such rogues are still preferred  
 Your father might be of high degree  
 But your mother was but a turd.

So rebell Jenny Scott  
 Who did to Empire soar,  
 His father might be the Lord knows what  
 But his mother we know a whore.

See J.P. Kenyon, The Stuarts, London 1966, 130 passim.

25. Voorn, De papiermolens, 116. The wrapper, bearing a lifelike illustration of a jester (a portrait of Janssen?) is labelled 'Papier Fin que le Sieur Janssen fait faire au Moulin de Puy Moyen pr. me. I:M'.
26. Jack Westrup, 'Wood, Anthony', Grove xx, 515, does not mention these pieces. For Wood's musical activities see the many references indexed under 'Music' in A. Clark (ed), Life and Times; vol.v contains an index to the complete work.
27. Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1876-1881, London 1886, R/1968.
28. Munk, Roll, i, 400-1; Venn Alumni Part 1, ii, 185; DNB xx, 320-1.
29. John Harris, History of Kent, London 1719, plate facing p.279.
30. Paragraph 1531, pp.152-3.
31. For a discussion of changing attitudes to music in England in the mid-seventeenth century see E.H. Meyer, Early English Chamber Music, London 1982, 190-231 passim.

32. PRO LC9/278:
33. Heawood nos. 350, 431, 434, 1653, 1784, 1787, 2012, 2028, 2041, 2143, 2688, 2706, 2780.
34. Ogg, Europe, 256-7.
35. J.R. Jones, Country and Court, London 1978, 250-1.
36. Ogg, op. cit., 257.
37. Ibid., 258-9.
38. William III had to attempt to overcome the Amsterdam tradition of trading with hostile states, although laws prohibiting French imports were passed in both England and Holland. See G.N. Clark, The Dutch Alliance, 4-6, 29-30, 72-3. Methods of evading prohibitions included arranging with privateers to be 'captured' and dividing the prize money: ibid. 73-4.
39. H CJ x 270; G.N.Clark, op.cit.,30.
40. Including Purcell, The Virtuous Wife, f.38: see Curtis A. Price, Music in the Restoration Theatre, 232; Morgan, The Old Troop or Monsieur Raggou, f.39v-41v: ibid. 207-8; King,The Spanish Fryar or the Double Discovery, f.41v-42: ibid. 224-5; Morgan, The Mock Marriage, f.45v-46v: ibid. 201-2; The Lost Lover, f.47v-48: ibid. 189-90; Paisible,Oroonoko, f.59-59v: ibid. 208-9; Love's Last Shift, f.60: ibid. 196; Neglected Virtue or the Unhappy Conqueror, f.63v-64v: ibid. 204; Clarke, A Wife for any Man, f.71-2: ibid. 233; The She-Gallants, f.77v-78v: ibid. 221; Finger,The City Lady, f.79-80: ibid. 154-5; Byron, Woman's Wit or the Lady in Fashion, f.85-6: ibid. 235; Orme, The

Mistakes, or the False Report, f.88-88v: *ibid.* 201; Tollett,  
The Lover's Luck, f. 102v-103: *ibid.* 195; Saving the Scott,  
or the Taming of the Shrew, f.104-104v: *ibid.* 220.

**PART III****WATERMARKS AND SOME QUESTIONS OF REPERTORY, 1648 - 1688**



## CHAPTER IX

## THE CUMULATIVE REPERTORY

English amateur musicians in the later seventeenth century seem to have had no reluctance to try out such modern forms of music as the Italian trio sonata or arrangements from ballets by Lully, but they were equally reluctant to part with their old favourites. The result is a repertory of great diversity, in which Ferrabosco, Mico and Lawes continue to be re-copied while the works of later composers such as Vitali and Colista were also being collected.

The varied types of music found in late seventeenth-century manuscript sources do not simply reflect the tastes of different individuals or generations; each of the three sources discussed in this chapter belonged to a person whose interest in music extended from Lawes or Ferrabosco to Lully or Vitali. Some biographical information is available about one of them, the London merchant Gabriel Roberts, and the amateur status of the other two can be inferred from the nature of their partbooks and the type of music they collected. Like furniture in a long-inhabited house, the music in these collections seems to have been accumulated over the years and kept for as long as anyone could find a use for it, which in some cases seems to have been a very long time indeed.

**British Library Additional Manuscript 31423 folios 1-75**  
**(Watermarks XXXII, XLVI)**

Folios 1-75 of British Library Add. MS 31423<sup>1</sup> are a set of three parts in the hand of the copyist whom the Catalogue of Manuscripts mistakenly identifies as John Jenkins.<sup>2</sup> This copyist was responsible for seventeen different sets of parts in the British Library, most of them now in Add.31423, 31424 and 31436, in which the contents range from fantasias by Ferrabosco and Mico in Add.31423 folios 1-75 to Silvano's Scielta delle Suonate of 1680 and G.B. Vitali's Op.9 sonatas of 1684 in Add.31436 folios 150-210. The variety of the repertory, the use of simple, unbound partbooks, and the somewhat rushed and inelegant, though perfectly legible, music hand suggest that the copyist was an amateur pursuing his own eclectic interests, and it has been tentatively suggested that the collection belonged to, and was copied by, Roger North's brother Francis (d.1685).<sup>3</sup> The probable date of folios 1-75 of Add.31423, however, is after Francis North's death.







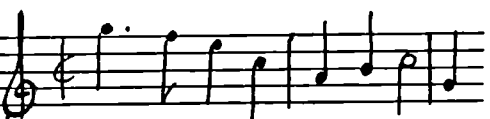



The set of three books is evidently incomplete, as concordances, inscriptions and the nature of the music itself all show that the contents are in four parts. A book which contained one of the two upper parts of each piece is missing. A thematic catalogue can nevertheless be compiled, as in most cases the melody has been copied in the surviving treble book or the music is polyphonic and the theme appears in all parts. The complete contents are set out in Table I below, for ease of reference divided into four series.

TABLE I

British Library Additional MS 31423 folios 1-75: Series A

|    |   | Composer     | Meyer no. | Dodd |
|----|---|--------------|-----------|------|
| 1  |    | Ferrabosco   | 15        | 4/15 |
| 2  |    | [Ferrabosco] | 18        | 4/18 |
| 3  |    | [Ferrabosco] | 19        | 4/19 |
| 4  |   | [Ferrabosco] | 20        | 4/20 |
| 5  |  | Brewer       |           | 2/1  |
| 6  |  | [Brewer]     |           | 2/2  |
| 7  |  | [Brewer]     |           | 2/3  |
| 8  |  | [Brewer]     |           | 2/4  |
| 9  |  | [Brewer]     |           | 2/5  |
| 10 |  | [Brewer]     |           | 2/6  |

## Lbl Add.31423 folios 1-75: Series B

|  | Title        |
|--|--------------|
| 1     | Pavan        |
| 2     | Almand Pavan |
| 3     | Almand       |
| 4     | Ayre         |
| 5   | Almand       |
| 6   |              |
| 7   | Alman        |
| 8   |              |
| 9   | Ayre         |
| 10  |              |

## Series B continued

11  Alleman

12  Alleman

13  Alleman

14 

15  Pavan

16  Alman

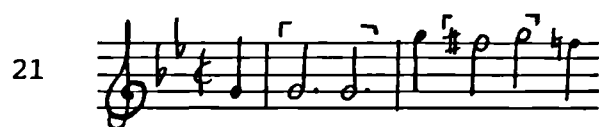
17  Ayre

18  Alman

19 



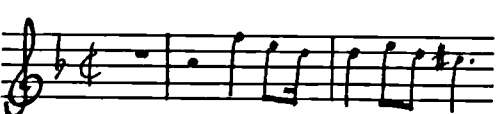




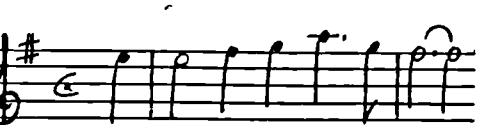
20  Alman

Series B concluded



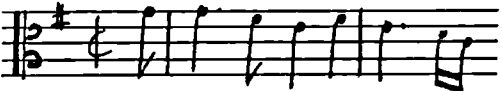



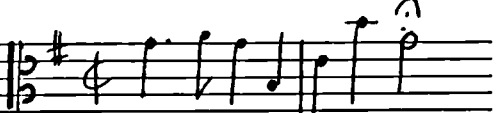

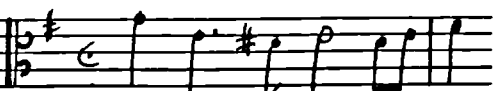



## Lbl'Add.31423 folios 1-75: Series C

## Composer and title

- |   |   |                                  |
|---|---|----------------------------------|
| 1 |    | John Withy [Sonata I]<br>Pavan   |
| 2 |    | Alman                            |
| 3 |    | Ayre                             |
| 4 |   | Courant                          |
| 5 |  | [John Withy; Sonata II]<br>Pavan |
| 6 |  | Alman                            |
| 7 |  | Ayre                             |
| 8 |  | Courant                          |





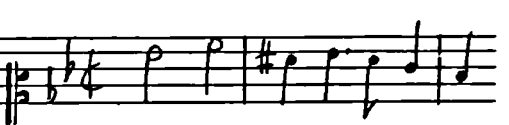



Series C concluded

- |    |   |                                     |
|----|---|-------------------------------------|
| 9  |    | William Child [Sonata I]<br>Prelude |
| 10 |    | Pavan                               |
| 11 |    | Ayre                                |
| 12 |    | Courant                             |
| 13 |  | Gavot                               |
| 14 |  | [William Child; Sonata II]<br>Pavan |
| 15 |  | Ayre                                |
| 16 |  | Courant                             |
| 17 |  | Sar                                 |
| 18 |  | Jigg                                |





Series D concluded

|    |   |        |    |      |
|----|---|--------|----|------|
| 11 |    | [Mico] | 9  | 3/9  |
| 12 |    | [Mico] | 10 | 3/10 |
| 13 |    | [Mico] | 6  | 3/6  |
| 14 |   | [Mico] | 7  | 3/7  |
| 15 |  | [Mico] | 13 | 3/13 |
| 16 |  | [Mico] | 12 | 3/12 |
| 17 |  | [Mico] | 1  | 3/1  |
| 18 |  | [Mico] | 8  | 3/8  |

Series A: Fantasias by Alfonso Ferrabosco II and Thomas Brewer

Part i, f.1; part ii, f.26; part iii, f.51.

The presence of four fantasias by Alfonso Ferrabosco II (c.1575-1628) in a set of parts made by someone who also copied Vitali's Op.9 is perhaps the most notable feature of this source. Ferrabosco's four-part fantasias seem, from their wide circulation, to have enjoyed considerable popularity in the first half of the century: they were copied in score by Thomas Tomkins (1573-1656) in Add.29996, where he described them as 'excellent good'. Other sources containing one or more of the Ferrabosco fantasias from Add.31423 are Lbl Egerton 3665,<sup>4</sup> Add.17792-6, Add.29427; Ob MSS Mus.Sch. c.64-69, e.437-442, f.568-9; Och MSS 2, 397-400, 423-8, 436, 468-72, 473-8, 517-20, 1004; Eire-Dm Z.2.1.12, Z 3.4. 1-6, Z.3.4. 7-12; US-NYp Drexel 4180-5.

Thomas Brewer (1611-after 1659) was a servant of Sir Nicholas le Strange: the six fantasias found here are also in Ob MSS Mus.Sch. c.100 a & b; e.568-9; Eire-Dm Z.3.4. 7-12.

References in Table I are to E.H.Meyer, Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa, Kassel 1934, 136, 152-3; G. Dodd, Index of Music for Viols, VDGS, 1980 etc.

Series B: Ayres and dances in four parts

Part i, f.6; part ii, f.31; part iii, f.56.

Series B consists of anonymous ayres and dances marked 'a 4' in the parts and numbered 1-28. They are grouped according to key, but do not form recognisable suites.

Series C: Sonatas by Withy and Child

Part i, f.13; part ii, f.38; part iii f.63.

Series C consists of eighteen movements which in fact form two pairs of chamber sonatas, one pair by John Withy and the other by William Child. Child (1606/7-1697) was a prolific composer of church music, but very little instrumental music is ascribed to him: the movements in this source are unique. John Withy (sometimes Withie; d. after 1673) was a much less important composer. The two ascriptions each appear once only, but there is no reason to doubt that they also apply to subsequent movements.

Series D: Six anonymous fantasias and twelve by Richard Mico

Part i, f.17; part ii, f.42; part iii, f.67.

The final series of four-part fantasias contains twelve by Richard Mico (c.1590-1661),<sup>5</sup> probably composed before 1642. This set of parts is in fact the least complete source of Mico's seventeen four-part fantasias, all of which are in Lm 1197, Och 353-6 and Och 517-20. References for the Mico fantasias are to Meyer, Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik, 143; the same numbering is used in the VDGS Provisional Index, Chelys ii (1970), 50, and in Dodd, Index.

The identifiable repertory of this source includes music by Alfonso Ferrabosco II (d.1628) and fantasias by Mico probably composed before 1642. A later period is represented by Brewer, Child and Withy, but the entire content of the books, including the dances, consists of polyphonic music with considerable interest in the inner parts: on the basis of content alone, the source could date from any time after the 1640s. A better guide is provided by the paper and its watermarks.

One of the source's two main types of paper measures 325 mm. x 203 mm., cut, and has ten staves, 13.5 mm. x 170 mm., ruled with a five-stave rastrum of 125 mm.: the measurement over ten staves is 265 mm. The watermark is a foolscap with the letters PR beneath: the fact that the R is reversed probably signifies no more than that it was wrongly attached to the mould. The other principal type of paper has deckel edges and measures 322 mm. x 208 mm. with ten staves of 13.5 mm. x 163 mm. The five-stave rastrum measures 127 mm. and the ten staves overall 270 mm. The mark in this paper is a relatively simple Amsterdam arms counter-marked with the monogram GVH. Isolated sheets of different paper are found near the middle of each partbook.

There is at least a possibility that two originally separate sets of parts were combined to make the present books. Taking the surviving treble book as an example, it can be seen that the Amsterdam paper lies entirely within an outer layer of foolscap: the resulting partbook consists of one huge gathering of twenty-four folios with an extra half-sheet (f.13) in the middle. The two other books follow a similar pattern (see Table II overleaf).



The change from one type of music to another within a single set of parts, at f.6 etc. where the dances begin, is unique in this copyist's collection. In all three parts the ten fantasias of Series A occupy the first five folios only, so that the change from fantasias to dances coincides with the change in paper and ruling. A possible explanation is that two separate sets of parts existed, one containing Series A on the first five folios of each partbook, and the other containing B and C followed by unused pages, which the copyist combined to provide a continuous sequence of unused pages for the fantasias of Series D.

Whatever the explanation, the first seven fantasias of Series D, including one by Mico, cannot have been copied here before paper with the GVH monogram became available, probably not before the last fifteen years of the century. Gillis van Hoven I (1625-1680) is described as 'Paper factor and maker and French merchant', but the manufacture of white paper in Holland did not begin until 1671, and there is no evidence in paper that the van Hovens were involved as white paper makers at this stage. The GVH monogram is found in the Lord Chamberlain's records for 1686 as a factor's mark, and clearly belongs to Gillis van Hoven II (1660-1722) rather than his father. In 1688 William Carr wrote that French refugee craftsmen in the Netherlands were given interest-free loans to buy tools and materials, and it is possible that Gillis van Hoven provided others with moulds of his own, bearing his personal mark, and perhaps employed them directly in his mills. A date c.1688-1690 is consistent with the historical circumstances and the

other music collected by the copyist, and is close to the date when other Dutch paper appears in Lbl Add.35043 (see Ch. VIII). Many of the copyist's other partbooks use paper with the personal marks of Janssen and the Angoumois craftsmen who worked for him, and none have the marks of the Dutch papermakers found in Add.35043 or of the van Gerrevink firm, which flourished near the end of the century, so it is unlikely that his activity was carried on much after 1690. The foolscap with the initials PR is not found elsewhere in the copyist's work, and so is likely to be contemporary with the Amsterdam/GVH watermark.



**British Library' Additional Manuscripts 10444 and 10445**  
 (Watermarks IV, XVII, XX, XXV)

British Library Add. MSS 10444 and 10445 contain five sets of instrumental parts, at least some of which are clearly related to one another:

Table III

|       |  |   |
|-------|--|---|
| Set 1 | Masque music,<br>dances etc. <sup>6</sup>  | Treb. 10444 folios 1-55<br>Bass 10444 folios 56-104   |
| Set 2 | Matthew Locke,<br><u>Consort for several<br/>friends</u> , suites<br>1-3 and 6-8. <sup>7</sup>   | Treb. 10444 folios 105-117<br>Bass 10444 folios 118-129   |
| Set 3 | William Lawes, <u>Royal<br/>Consort</u> nos. 1-24. <sup>8</sup>  | Treb. 10445 folios 1-25<br>Breaking bass 10445 fols.26-39   |
| Set 4 | Lawes; sonatas for<br>violin, bass viol and<br>organ. <sup>9</sup><br>Jenkins; sixteen<br>ayres. <sup>10</sup><br>Locke, <u>Consort for<br/>several friends</u> ,<br>suites 4 & 5. | Treb. 10445 folios 40-67<br>Bass 10445 folios 68-93   |
| Set 5 | Coperario; duos for<br>two bass viols. <sup>11</sup><br>Lully; ballet music<br>from <u>Psyché</u> and <u>Les<br/>Amants Magnifiques</u> . <sup>12</sup>                            | 1st bass viol and Lully basses:<br>10445 folios 94-116.<br>2nd bass viol and Lully trebles:<br>10445 folios 117-136 |

A connection between the material of the present Add.10444 and 10445 dates at least from the copying of the Locke Consort for several friends, which is all in the same hand. This work is divided between sets 2 and 4, which are therefore linked by both hand and content. Watermark and ruling characteristics link sets 4 and 5, so a good case can be made for a common origin for all three sets 2, 4 and 5. Set 1, however, containing masque music, appears on the basis of paper as well as content to be considerably earlier than the other material, and set 3, although containing music probably composed little later than some of the masque dances in set 1, is written on highly distinctive paper marked with the English Royal Arms countermarked DV, a combination which appears in the 1674 inventory as no.42, 'Caen fool's cap'. 'DV' was probably the Norman papermaker Denis Vaullegard,<sup>13</sup> and the unusual type of paper sets the Royal Consort copies apart from the other contents of Add.10444-5. The most complex questions are raised by sets 4 and 5, whose first layers of copying could be relatively early and whose second layers seem to be much later, a subject which will be discussed below.

The two volumes were in essentially their present form when they were bought for the British Museum in 1836.<sup>14</sup> They are described in Oliphant's 1842 catalogue as having their present contents,<sup>15</sup> with the addition of some printed pages from the treble and tenor parts of Locke's Little Consort (1656) which formed folios 130-135 of Add.10444.<sup>16</sup> The collection had belonged to Burney, and had been sold at the disposal of his library in 1814: Sabol suggests that Burney might have acquired set 1, which is

partly in the hand of Sir Nicholas le Strange, from Nicholas Styleman, one of le Strange's descendants.<sup>17</sup> If so, Add.10444 and 10445 are not merely antiquarian collections assembled in the eighteenth century, but the surviving material of a family's cumulative collection of chamber music from the seventeenth century, a possibility supported by the fact that with the exception of the printed music now removed and the Royal Consort the entire collection is for two stringed instruments with or without keyboard.

The Royal Consort parts, set 3, have no obvious relationship with the other sets and may or may not have belonged to the same seventeenth-century collection. Set 1, whose treble part was copied by Nicholas le Strange (1603-1655), contains no music that can be dated later than 1623, but if Burney indeed acquired not only set 1 but the whole of Add.10444-5 from a member of the le Strange family, it is possible that all five sets formed part of a single household collection. Two writers who regard the whole of both volumes as related, however, do so on the basis of a misapprehension about set 1. J.P. Cutts thought that the masque music in set 1 might have been collected before the Civil War by one of the King's musicians and preserved by his post-Restoration successors, including Matthew Locke, who added more music to it.<sup>18</sup> Murray Lefkowitz accepted this theory, while drawing attention to the fact that both the masque section and the final folios of set 5, containing ballet music by Lully of 1670 and 1671, consist of instrumental extracts from stage entertainments that originally included vocal music as well.<sup>19</sup> But Pamela Willetts' identification

of Nicholas le Strange as the copyist of the masque trebles, and the musical illiteracy of the masque bass part,<sup>20</sup> seem to rule out any possibility of a 'royal' origin for the five sets, though not, of course, a related origin of some less exalted kind. The main watermarks of set 1 are illustrated (IV) and provide a useful comparison with the generally larger and more regular pot marks of the 1640s.

Whatever the history of sets 1 and 3, the remaining sets are clearly related and fall within the period of this study. Three distinct music hands appear in them: A, who copied the Lawes and Jenkins in set 4; B, who copied all of the Locke and the Lully; and the problematic C, responsible for the Coperario. Hand C is broadly similar to A, but there are too many differences to permit the convenient assumption that they are the same: moreover, C is as similar to B as it is to A. Hand C differs from B chiefly in the text (compare the original 'Coperario' on f.95 with B's list of contents on f.94) and in not sharing B's habit of including comments and directions in his work. A further text hand appears in the two songs copied in score on folios 103-5, but the music hand of ''Tis Cupid' seems to be A and of 'Depuis que j'ayme' B, which suggests that A and B were collaborators, or may even have belonged to the same person.

The relationship between paper, content and copyist is set out in Table IV overleaf.

Table IV

Add. 10444-5, sets 2, 4 and 5: paper, contents and hand

| Set | Paper  | Ruling                                       | Content  | Hand                 |
|-----|--|--|--|----------------------|
| 2   | 144 x 190 mm. cut;<br>posthorn mark  | 5 staves, 12.5 x 150 mm.;<br>over 5, 112 mm. | Locke: 2-part consort, suites<br>1-3, 6-8  | B                    |
| 4   | 148 x 185 mm. cut; five-<br>pointed foolscap with IC<br>by sten/paschal lamb<br>incorporating ID | 5 staves, 11 x 158 mm.;<br>over 5, 106 mm.   | Lawes: sonatas for violin, bass viol,<br>organ<br>Jenkins: 16 two-part ayres<br>Locke: 2-part consort, suites 4 & 5  | A<br>A<br>B          |
| 5   | Dimensions, watermarks and ruling identical with set 4   |  | Coperario: duos for two bass viols<br>Humphrey: 'Tis Cupid'<br>Anon: 'Depuis que j'ayme'<br>Lully: instrumental music from <u>Les<br/>Amants Magnifiques</u> (1670); <u>Psyché</u><br>(1671) | C (?)<br>A<br>B<br>B |

The music by Lully and the two songs appear to have been added to the partbooks some time after an earlier phase of copying which included the Lawes, Jenkins and Coperario. The dates for the Lully and the title Psyché are included in the parts; the Humphrey song 'Tis Cupid' was printed in Playford's Court Ayres of 1673.<sup>21</sup>

The Locke consort, in the same hand as the Lully ballet music, presumably belongs to the later phase of copying: the relationship between the Locke and the Lully will be discussed below.

#### Set 4: Lawes and Jenkins

The first layer of copying in set 4 (Add.10445 f.40 and f.68) contains all twenty-four movements of William Lawes' sonatas for violin, bass viol and organ; only the string parts are preserved in this source. One might expect the following treble and bass parts ascribed to Jenkins to belong to that composer's music for violin, bass viol and organ,<sup>22</sup> but in fact they comprise sixteen unique two-part ayres. Other sources of the Lawes are Ob MSS Mus. Sch. c.90; d.229; d.238-40; Och 430; Lbl Add.29290 (organ part).

#### Set 5: Coperario

The string parts of Coperario's duos for two bass viols and organ are copied from Add.10445 f.95 (1st bass) and f.118 (2nd bass). Although fourteen movements are included here, Coperario in fact wrote only twelve such duos, the remaining two being faulty copies of two-part fantasias by Coperario for other instruments. Other

sources of the twelve bass-viol duos are Ckc Rowe MSS 112-13, 113A; Ob MSS Mus.Sch. c.59-60; c.91; c.92; d.245-7; Och 432; 612-13; Lbl Add.17790; 31416.

#### Sets 2 and 4: Locke

The hand B copy of Locke's two-part Consort for several friends is second in importance only to the autograph score, Lbl Add.17801. The presence of this authoritative source has overshadowed the fact that Add.10444 and 10445 contain the only set of parts of the complete revised version of the consort: Lbl Add.33236 and Cfm MS Mus 735 are scores, related to the autograph and to some extent imperfect; Lbl Add.31431 contains only one part of twenty pieces; Ob MS Mus.Sch. c.44 contains only fragments. Och MSS 409-10 contain an early version of the music dating from before Locke's extensive revision.

Not only do Add.10444 and 10445 contain a late set of parts, close in most respects to the final revisions in the score Add. 17801, but they also place Locke's music in relationship to earlier English and later Continental compositions. The B scribe's comments, titles and performance directions prove that B also wrote the inscriptions on the title pages referring to music by 'Mr Lawes', 'Mr Coperario' and so on, with the number of pieces by each included in the parts. Clearly the B copyist was not merely using old manuscript books in whose original content he had no practical interest.

At the same time he or his employer seems to have been anxious that good manuscript paper should not be wasted, and their commendable frugality provides evidence for the date of the Locke copying. A possible reason for the inclusion of thirteen two-part Locke pieces in set 4 might have been a wish to use up the available space in that set of parts, no doubt with the intention of including the other six suites elsewhere; it is clear that the first stage of Locke copying was in set 4 rather than set 2 because the entire consort could have been included in the latter, where both parts have several unused folios. With part of the Locke copied in set 4, the obvious place for the rest of it to go would have been set 5, shown by its watermarks (see below) to have been a companion to set 4: the fact that the remaining Locke pieces were not copied there suggests that the folios in set 5 remaining after the Coperario had already been used for the ballet music by Lully. New partbooks had therefore to be provided to finish the Locke consort, which must therefore have been completed after 1671, the date of Lully's Psyché. Probably the two Locke suites in set 4 would not have been copied there had it been evident that a new set of parts, which could have contained the entire work, would be needed to complete the consort, and it is therefore likely that the Lully copying interrupted the Locke and caused a change of plan. Peculiarities in the paper of set 2, which is not an orthodox set of parts of the 1670s but matches the size of the earlier material, lend support to this suggestion.



Lully: music from Psyché and Les Amants Magnifiques

Set 5 concludes with thirty-four instrumental pieces by Lully, consisting of the overtures and instrumental airs from two ballets, Les Amants Magnifiques (1670) and Psyché (1671). Since the dates of first performance of these works are known, and in fact included in these parts, we have an earliest possible date for their copying here which in turn has a bearing on the date of the Locke in sets 2 and 4. The latest possible date, established by the type of paper used in set 2, seems to be c.1680: a full account of the paper in the relevant sets will be given below.

The list of sources of this music in Schneider's thematic catalogue shows that there was nothing unusual in copying an instrumental suite from a tragédie-ballet or similar work: especially in the case of Psyché such sources outnumber by far all other kinds, such as full and compressed scores and performing parts of the entire work, or selections including vocal music. What is noteworthy about the Lully in set 5 is that it is undoubtedly English, copied by an English scribe on paper typical of English use, combined with earlier music by Coperario, and one of the earliest secondary sources of the Lully movements themselves.

It appears that the scribe B of sets 2,4 and 5 made his Locke and Lully copies at about the same time, the Lully coming in between the first Locke series in set 4 and the second in set 2. The parts were almost certainly for amateur use as no-one else, in 1673 or so, would have been interested in Coperario. The contents of the Lully section itself show that these parts cannot have been intended for use in the theatre. All of the music in

sets 2,4 and 5, whether copied in the first phase (Lawes, Jenkins and Coperario) or the second (Locke and Lully) appears to have enjoyed an equal status in the collection: the owner's musical taste could clearly comprehend Coperario as well as Lully. Even in the absence of proof to connect set 1 and set 3 with the rest of Add.10444-5, the contents of the other three sets provide evidence of a surprising eclecticism of taste amongst English musical amateurs in the later seventeenth century.

Even if 'Tis Cupid' was not copied from the printed version of 1673, the final phase of copying, including the Lully and most if not all of the Locke, must have taken place after 1671. On the basis of content alone, however, we could neither say how long after 1671 the parts might have been copied nor give more than an approximate suggestion of the date of the earliest copying in sets 4 and 5. The music by Lawes and Coperario must have been composed long before the earliest date possible for a manuscript with foolscap and paschal lamb watermarks, and the Jenkins, being unique, offers no clues. The paper, however, suggests that the second phase of copying was carried out before 1679 and the first between 1655 and 1665.

The date suggested for the second phase assumes that the Lully copying interrupted the Locke which was already in progress. The paper of set 2, where the Locke is completed, was therefore obtained after the copying of the Locke in set 4 and the Lully in set 5, and its probable date will be contemporary with, or later than, the second stage of copying in the two earlier sets. The paper of set 2 is lighter than the material normally found

in music books and has a pair of posthorn watermarks, divided, since this is a quarto source, between different folios. The distribution of the upper and lower sections of the marks is most unusual, and in itself suggests something out of the ordinary in the origin of the partbooks: instead of the normal alternation of upper and lower sections we find, in each book, all of the lower sections followed by all of the upper sections. The two marks of the pair can be distinguished by the fact that posthorn b, apart from a few minor details and a different distribution of chain lines, was positioned lower in the mould than a, so that after part of the mark has been removed by cropping most of the shield and horn of posthorn a is intact but only the uppermost fragment of its top section, whereas a slice has been taken out of the middle of posthorn b. This pattern is consistent throughout the books and is not the result of one or two sheets being for some reason differently cut. The distribution of watermarks in set 2 is shown in Table V overleaf.

By matching up the reference numbers in Table V it can be seen that the bass book is made from the same sheets as the treble, its half-sheets of a and b matching those of the treble in a mirror image. The two books must have been made simultaneously, the ruled sheets being cut and divided so that the lower half of the eleven sheets formed one book and the upper half, turned over, the other. Each book consisted of a single gathering of twenty-two folios. These features are so remarkable as to suggest that set 2 was a special commission to meet unusual requirements.

Table V

Add.10444, set 2: distribution of watermarks

| Treble |      |           | Bass  |      |           |
|--------|------|-----------|-------|------|-----------|
| Folio  | Mark | Reference | Folio | Mark | Reference |
| 105    | a2   | 1         | 118   | -    | 22        |
| 106    | a2   | 2         | 119   | -    | 21        |
| 107    | -    | 3         | 120   | b2   | 20        |
| 108    | a2   | 4         | 121   | -    | 19        |
| 109    | -    | 5         | 122   | a2   | 18        |
| 110    | -    | 6         | 123   | a2   | 17        |
| 111    | a2   | 7         | 124   | -    | 16        |
| 112    | -    | 8         | 125   | b2   | 15        |
| 113    | a2   | 9         | 126   | -    | 14        |
| 114    | b2   | 10        | 127   | -    | 13        |
| 115    | -    | 11        | 128   | b2   | 12        |
| 116    | b1   | 12        | 129   | -    | 11        |
| 117    | -    | 13        | A     | b1   | 10        |
| A      | -    | 14        | B     | a1   | 9         |
| B      | b1   | 15        | C     | -    | 8         |
| C      | -    | 16        | D     | a1   | 7         |
| D      | a1   | 17        | E     | -    | 6         |
| E      | a1   | 18        | F     | -    | 5         |
| F      | -    | 19        | G     | a1   | 4         |
| G      | b1   | 20        | H     | -    | 3         |
| H      | -    | 21        | I     | a1   | 2         |
| I      | -    | 22        | J     | a1   | 1         |

Posthorn marks broadly similar to the pair in set 2 are found in dated correspondence of the early 1660s and in Lbl Add.30488, f.6. In the last example the posthorn paper is indistinguishable from the surrounding Amsterdam sheets in size, texture and weight. The same is true of an isolated paschal lamb in the bass part, Add.30490 f.18. In the early 1660s, when the first section of Add.30488-90 was copied, the posthorn was not invariably associated with lighter types of paper, suitable for letter writing rather than music copying or other permanent uses, as became the case later in the century. Add.30488-90 and other sources of a similar period, such as Add.31437 and 29282, show that in the 1660s heavy, foolscap-type paper was little larger than that marked with the pot, and can have been no larger than the posthorn paper in set 2, which has been cropped on all edges. In the 1660s heavy paper of the kind normally used for music would have been available in the same size as the foolscap and paschal lamb paper of sets 4 and 5.

The 1674 inventory shows not only that the price of paper increased steeply with greater size, but also that by then foolscap paper was definitely larger than pot and other small sizes.<sup>23</sup> The use of the light posthorn in set 2 was probably to match the size of the earlier, smaller paper in sets 4 and 5 without the expense of cutting the larger foolscap, and confirms the suggestion made above that set 2 was copied after 1671. Whatever size of paper was used, only the highest quality was suitable for music, and it is therefore probable that set 2, which has no factor's or maker's mark, was made before 1679, when paper made by a small

group of Angoumois craftsmen for Abraham Janssen and other factors, which normally has either a factor's or a maker's mark or both, began to dominate the high-quality market in England. It therefore seems most likely that set 2 was copied between 1671 and 1679, and that the Lully in set 5 was copied during the same period.

The paper of sets 4 and 5 has two different pairs of watermarks, a paschal lamb and a five-pointed foolscap. Like the posthorns in set 2, the two foolscaps (a and b) were at different levels on the mould, so that different sections of each have been removed by cropping. Other distinguishing features are the relationship between the foolscap's pigtail and the chain line it crosses, and that between the right-hand bell and its adjacent chain line. One partbook in each set consists of the foolscap paper (see Table VI below). The two other parts have paschal lamb marks (c and d) which are difficult to decipher: only c is illustrated. Mark d was higher on the mould than c, so that more of d2 than of c2 has been removed by cropping (see Table VII below). The distribution of watermarks in sets 4 and 5, with upper and lower sections of watermarks alternating, is in marked contrast to that of set 2; sets 4 and 5 are constructed in the normal way, with gatherings of four or eight folios.

Table VI

Add.10445, sets 4 and 5: distribution of foolscap watermarks

## Set 4: treble

| Folio | Mark |
|-------|------|
| 40    | a2   |
| 41    | a2   |
| 42    | -    |
| 43    | -    |
| 44    | a2   |
| 45    | a1   |
| 46    | -    |
| 47    | -    |
| 48    | -    |
| 49    | -    |
| 50    | -    |
| 51    | -    |
| 52    | a2   |
| 53    | a1   |
| 54    | a2   |
| 55    | a1   |
| 56    | -    |
| 57    | -    |
| 58    | -    |
| 59    | -    |
| 60    | b2   |
| 61    | b1   |
| 62    | b2   |
| 63    | b1   |
| 64    | -    |
| 65    | -    |
| 66    | b2   |
| 67    | b1   |

## Set 5: Coperario bass 2/Lully treble

| Folio | Mark |
|-------|------|
| 117   | -    |
| 118   | -    |
| 119   | a1   |
| 120   | a2   |
| 121   | -    |
| 122   | -    |
| 123   | b2   |
| 124   | b1   |
| 125   | a1   |
| 126   | a2   |
| 127   | -    |
| 128   | -    |
| 129   | b1   |
| 130   | b2   |
| 131   | -    |
| 132   | -    |
| 133   | a1   |
| 134   | a2   |
| 135   | -    |
| 136   | -    |
| A     | -    |

Table VII

Add.10445, sets 4 and 5: distribution of paschal lamb watermarks

Set 4: bass

Set 5: Coperario bass 1/Lully bass

| Folio | Mark        | Folio | Mark        |
|-------|-------------|-------|-------------|
| [ 69  | c1          | [ 95  | -           |
| [ 70  | c2          | [ 96  | -           |
| [ 71  | -           | [ 97  | d2          |
| [ 72  | -           | [ 98  | d1          |
| [ 73  | d1          | [ 99  | c2          |
| [ 74  | d2          | [ 100 | c1          |
| [ 75  | -           | [ 101 | -           |
| [ 76  | Countermark | [ 102 | -           |
| [ 77  | -           | [ 103 | c2          |
| [ 78  | Countermark | [ 104 | c1          |
| [ 79  | d1          | [ 105 | -           |
| [ 80  | d2          | [ 106 | -           |
| [ 81  | c1          | [ 107 | -           |
| [ 82  | c2          | [ 108 | -           |
| [ 83  | -           | [ 109 | d2          |
| [ 84  | -           | [ 110 | d1          |
| [ 85  | -           | [ 111 | -           |
| [ 86  | Countermark | [ 112 | -           |
| [ 87  | d1          | [ 113 | c1          |
| [ 88  | d2          | [ 114 | d2          |
| [ 89  | -           | [ 115 | Countermark |
| [ 90  | Countermark | [ 116 | -           |
| [ 91  | d1          |       |             |
| [ 92  | d2          |       |             |
| [ 93  | -           |       |             |

Two lost folios



In contrast to the anonymity of set 2's posthorn, the two pairs of marks in sets 4 and 5 have three personal marks. The foolscap has the letters IC on either side of its stem, and the lamb has ID within the mark itself. In the paschal lamb d sheets is a cursive countermark, apparently HW. The letters IC appear as a countermark in Lbl Add.31437 folios 1-19, probably dating from c. 1660, which is also marked with a five-pointed foolscap: in both cases the foolscap is of the symmetrical Angoumois type. The same letters are combined with the IHS countermark in Lbl Add.31431.

The countermark on one of the two lamb moulds shows that 'ID', whose initials are within the mark itself, is unlikely to be the papermaker. In the Angoumois moulds were not made at the mills but by specialist craftsmen, and in 1672 one Jean Delafont 'l'aisné' was carrying on this trade in the Angoumois parish of La Couronne.<sup>24</sup> The patron saint of the parish, which was known in the seventeenth century as St Jean de la Pallud, was John the Baptist.<sup>25</sup> It is possible that the paschal lamb marks were made at La Couronne, and that the initials ID represent the name of the mould-maker, a contributor to the papermaking process who normally remained anonymous.

Both marks in sets 4 and 5 therefore suggest Angoumois origin, and there are numerous reasons for believing that the importation of Angoumois or 'Rochelle' paper to England became significant in the 1650s. The earliest example of Angoumois paper in an English music source is in Ob MSS Mus.Sch. e.406-9, dated 1654, and although the use of Angoumois paper for music does not become common until c.1660, the 1657 Book of Values refers to 'Rochelle Paper

as large as demy' as a special category, so such imports had presumably reached quite a large volume by then. The earliest date likely for a source made of Angoumois paper such as set 4 or 5 is in the mid 1650s, and the prevailing features of English sources of the 1660s, where the seven-pointed foolscap and the Amsterdam arms are the commonest marks in smaller paper, combine with other appearances of the lamb mark - an isolated sheet in Add.30490 used in 1666 and a document relating to La Couronne dated 1663 discovered by Lacomb<sup>26</sup> to suggest that c.1665 is as late as can be considered possible for the extensive use of the paper types found in sets 4 and 5. If the first phase of copying took place between 1655 and 1665 and the second between 1671 and 1679 the two phases are separated by a maximum of twenty-five years, by no means an unlikely length of time for a set of parts to have remained in use.

Sets 4 and 5 therefore contain relatively late copies of the music by Lawes and Coperario; the music by Jenkins could be amongst his later work and have been composed nearer the time when the parts were copied. The quality of the Locke parts in sets 2 and 4 suggests not only careful copying, but also access to a carefully revised exemplar: apart from the order of the suites and the omission of a courant from suite 1, the parts are very close to Locke's final revisions in his score, Add.17801, and contrast with the apparently slightly later source Add.31431 (1680) which seems to have been derived from an earlier version of the consort and subsequently revised.<sup>27</sup>

Add.17801 shows many signs of revision through erasure or

the pasting-in of large and small correction slips. All of these are faithfully reproduced in Add.10444-5, but the seven significant variants in these parts do not seem to have been incorporated in the score at any stage, as there is no sign of their erasure or obliteration. The Locke parts in Add.10444-5 are not descended from a late, but not final, version of the consort copied in the score but from the final state itself, with variations coming in through error, scribal creativity, or possibly the influence of Locke himself. Most of the variants clearly represent conscious decisions to alter minor details:

Suite 1: Fantasia, bar 16



In Add.10444 the first e in the bass of this bar is flat, possibly a scribal anticipation of the flat later in the bar.

Suite 1: Pavan, bar 29, treble



The score has version a; Add.10444 version b.

Suite 1: Pavan, bar 30, bass



In Add.10444 the initial b of this bar is natural, hardly likely to be merely a scribal error.

Suit 1: Pavan, bar 35, treble



The score has a; Add.10444 the decoration in b.

Suite 1: Ayre (3rd movement), bar 16, treble



Add.10444 substitutes a Bb for the final semiquaver of this bar.

Suite 8: Ayre (2nd movement), bar 10



The third note in the treble and the fifth in the bass are both natural, the clearest possible evidence that Add.10444 transmits genuine variants rather than scribal errors.

The variants found in Add.10444 cannot be said to be derived from a late, but not final, state of Add.17801 because it is clear from the score that such a state never existed; every change that has been made in Add.17801 has also been incorporated in Add.10444-5. The copyist of the parts did not habitually make alterations, as the variants are confined to four movements, but the three which involve accidentals are all significant. It is possible that the changes to the Consort for several friends made in Add.10444-5 are the result of Locke's directions to the copyist at a time when his increasing unsteadiness of hand, evident in the shaky copying of some of the six-part music in Add.17801, made him reluctant to attempt to alter the existing score again. As he was presumably fairly fit at the time of the composition and performance of Shadwell's Psyche,<sup>28</sup> the period of infirmity must have lain between then (c.1673-5) and his death in 1677, so the possibility that he supervised the copying of some of Add.10444-5 in his final years is consistent with the apparent date of the paper in set 2.

The presence of Lully's Psyché music in a source that seems to have been copied near the time of Shadwell's English Psyche inevitably invites speculation about a possible closer relationship. The eclectic tastes of English amateur musicians in the later seventeenth century mean that no special explanation is required for an English source of Lully, but the movements from Psyché and Les Amants Magnifiques in Add. 10445 nevertheless raise some puzzling questions. Why was their addition to the sets of parts in Add.10445 allowed to interrupt work on the Locke,

possibly being carried out under Locke's own direction? Why is this English source of instrumental music from the two Lully ballets apparently earlier than most comparable Continental sources? Finally, has this source any connection with the instrumental music to Shadwell's Psyche, ascribed to Draghi and apparently lost?<sup>29</sup>

The instrumental music required in Locke and Shadwell's Psyche falls into three distinct categories:

- a) Music external to the action: the movements before and between the acts.
- b) Music within the action for which dancing is not specified.
- c) Music within the action where dancing is required.

As Shadwell's preface implies, none of the music in the first category is in Locke's score. Similarly, the only dances to music by Locke take place during vocal sections such as the song for the Salij in Act III, where Shadwell's stage direction is 'The Priests sing this following song and dance to't' (MB 155)<sup>30</sup> or the Act I chorus 'How happy are those' with the direction 'Here the Singers mingle with the Dancers' (MB 106). But virtually all the music in the second category has been provided by Locke:

- Act I      Symphony at the descending of Venus      (MB 113)  
              (repeated at stage direction 'Venus  
              ascends with soft Musick', MB 115)
- Act III     Symphony: Locke stage direction  
              'While Mars and Venus are meeting  
              in the Air the following Symphony  
              is plaid'.      (MB 164)
- Act V      Symphony at the Descending of  
              Apollo and the Gods      (MB 211)
- Short symphonies in Apollo's song  
              'Assemble all ye Heavenly Quire'      (MB 212-5)
- Symphony at the Descending of  
              Jupiter, Cupid and Psyche      (MB 218)

The only place where instrumental music required within the action, other than a dance, is not provided by Locke is at the stage direction in Act III 'A Consort of Loud Martial Musick' (libretto p.38; MB 154).

Locke therefore seems to have composed almost all of the symphonies within the acts but none of the dances. Whether or not these movements are 'mingled with the vocal' music, in Shadwell's words, seems to be irrelevant; in many cases the dances are as integral a part of the action as the symphonies. The dance required for the Cyclops at the beginning of Act III, for example, leads directly into a song for Vulcan and the Cyclops, and the 'symphony at the Descending of Jupiter, Cupid and Psyche' in Act V (libretto p.69; MB 218) is separated from the following



song, and thus not 'mingled with' it, by a dance not provided by Locke. Most of the dances required in Psyche are preceded and followed by Locke's own music without intervening dialogue.

Locke's own preface to the score suggests a reason why he composed the symphonies but not the dances:

The Instrumental Musick before and between the Acts, and the Entries in the Acts of Psyche are omitted by the consent of their Author, Seignior Gio. Baptista Draghi. The Tunes of the Entries and Dances in the Tempest (the Dancers being chang'd) are omitted for the same reason.

If the dancers changed, the dances and their music also changed: the music met the requirements of the choreography. Locke may well have regarded the task of meeting the dancers' requirements as one he would prefer to delegate, or the pressure of work may have compelled him to do so. Shadwell's preface tells us that the dances in his Psyche were 'made by the most famous Master of France, Monsieur St Andree', who had taken part in the 1671 performance of Lully's ballet Psyché.<sup>31</sup> If St Andrée had wished to use choreography from the previous performance and introduced Draghi to Lully's music, he could be indirectly responsible for the Lully parts in Add.10445.

Although a possible connection certainly exists, it does not seem likely that dances from the Lully version were simply transplanted into Locke's score: Locke seems to have been careful to give each section of continuous music tonal cohesion, and would

not have tolerated the insertion of dances in wholly inappropriate keys. The dances in Psyche were also presumably arranged for the large orchestra employed by Locke rather than the two parts found in Add.10445, although this source could certainly have been copied from a fuller version. The relationship between the dance music of the two Psyches cannot be more than conjectural, but it is perhaps most probable that some of Lully's music was used as it stood, some transposed and some replaced by new music by Draghi. Whether any of the other instrumental music was derived from Lully's ballets we can only speculate.

The possibility of a very close relationship between the two Psyches evaporates once it is realised that some of the most important independent instrumental movements have in fact been supplied by Locke, and that elsewhere Lully's dances would not fit into Locke's key scheme. The most likely place for a straightforward transfer of music from one version to the other is at the beginning of Act III, where a dance in C major is required to precede the song for Vulcan and the Cyclops. Movement no.5 from Lully's Psyché, 'Les Forgerons', is in the right key and of an appropriate character. Nevertheless, a Lully score containing dances from Les Amants Magnifiques and Psyché might well have been carefully studied during preparations for the English performance, and could have been briefly available for copying the chamber music parts in Add.10445, which would explain the apparent interruption to the copying of the Locke Consort for several friends. The question of the Psyche instrumental music is interesting, but the partbooks in Add.10444-5 raise broader

questions of tradition and innovation in the amateur repertory: whatever their background, the Lully parts in Add.10445 were for domestic, not theatrical, use. The most significant aspect of the collection as a whole is its combination of music by two pre-Commonwealth composers, Lawes and Coperario, and two who died in the 1670s, with arrangements from Lully ballets performed no more than a few years before the parts were copied.

# British Library 'Additional Manuscript 31431

(Watermark XXXVIII)

British Library Add. MS 31431 consists of two separately bound volumes which are the surviving treble parts of a varied anthology of music mostly for two trebles and bass with basso continuo, in 1680 the property of Sir Gabriel Roberts. The title pages, which imply that there must originally have been five partbooks, clearly set out the principal contents of the collection:

Consorts of 3 parts ... 2 trebles and 1 bass with a bass contin. also a tenor part to the Royall Consort from no.1 to no.66.

|                                 |                       |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Mr William Lawes royall consort | from no.1 to no.66    |
| Mr Matthew Locke                | from no.67 to no.90   |
| Sig. Maurizio Cazati            | from no.91 to no.94   |
| Mr John Jenkins                 | from no.95 to no.133  |
| Doctr. Gibbons                  | from no.134 to no.144 |
| Mr Matthew Locke                | 145                   |
| 22 Italian Sonatas              | from no.146-168       |
| Mr Blackwell                    | 153                   |

The Italian sonatas numbered from 91 to 94 and 146 to 168 will be discussed at greater length in Ch. XI below; here, the other works which form Roberts' collection will be considered, always bearing in mind that they and the Italian sonatas are all part of the same collection of 'Consorts of 3 Parts'.

William Lawes: The Royal Consort<sup>32</sup>

William Lawes (1602-1645) was a major composer of fantasias and other chamber music before the Civil War, during which he was killed while serving with the Royalist army. His Royal Consort is a series of sixty-six ayres and dances divided into ten suites, found in the following sources apart from Add.31431:

Ob MSS Mus.Sch. b.2; b.3; d.233-6; d.241-4; e.431-6; e.451; f.568-9.

Och MSS 754-9; 391-6; 479-83.

Lbl Add.10445; Add.31433.

Most sources of the Royal Consort including the autograph, Ob MS Mus.Sch. b.3, are for two trebles and two bass viols, with two theorbos carrying out a continuo-like function. Its original instrumentation was different, as Edward Lowe's comment in Mus. Sch. d.236 f.1v reveals:

The following Royall Consorte was first compos'd for 2 trebles a meane & a base, but because the middle part could not be performed with equal advantage to bee heard as the trebles were, therefore the Author involved the Inner part in two breaking basses, which I caused to be transcribed for me in the tenor and counter-tenor books belonging to these and so bound, where the two breaking basses are to be found and so many figured as agree with these in order.

Peter Holman has suggested that the rearrangement came about through

practical experience, the first step being to play the tenor part on a bass viol for greater tone, and the second to rewrite the two lower parts so that the two equal instruments could share the interest.<sup>33</sup> Thus the 'new version' of the Royal Consort in fact has a different instrumentation from the one described on the title page of its latest source, Add.31431, which seems to be the 'old version' arrangement with two trebles, tenor and bass, although otherwise the treble parts agree with new version rather than old version sources. There is no means of knowing whether the tenor part provided for this source was closely modelled on that of the old version or whether it was a subsidiary or even optional part provided for what both Bukofzer<sup>34</sup> and Lefkowitz<sup>35</sup> have characterized as a modernised, trio-sonata version of the consort.

If it was considered necessary to provide a tenor part rather than rearrange the material of the two lower parts between the string and continuo basses it seems contradictory to describe the Add.31431 copy of the Royal Consort as a trio sonata version. The texture of the consort with its two treble parts was already moving towards that of the trio sonata, but all versions share this feature. The only statement that can confidently be made about the Add.31431 arrangement is that the theorbo parts had been replaced by one called 'Basso Continuo', which itself could have been performed as well on a theorbo or guitar as on the harpsichord or organ. Far more important than guesswork about the lost lower parts is the evidence of Add.31431 about the way

the consort was perceived. The implication of the title pages, as well as of the consort's context amongst so many trio compositions, is that the tenor part was seen as being of secondary importance to the trebles and the bass, but the most significant aspect of the source as a whole is that in a collection containing the Broken Consort of Locke and Italian sonatas by Cazzati, Vitali, Colista and Legrenzi, the Royal Consort, composed before the Civil War, was still given pride of place.

#### Matthew Locke: the Broken Consort<sup>36</sup>

With Locke's Broken Consort, which forms nos. 67 to 90 of Add. 31431, a further step is taken towards the trio sonata proper; indeed, with the addition of the continuo instrument implied by the title pages of Add. 31431, these works can be regarded as English trio sonatas whose opening fantasias have much in common with the sectional church sonatas of Italian composers such as Cazzati which appear later in the collection. Other sources of the Locke consort are Lbl Add. 17801 (autograph score); Add. 31435; Add. 31436; Cfm MS Mus 735; Och 772-3; F-Pc Res. 770.

#### John Jenkins: ayres for two trebles and continuo<sup>37</sup>

Jenkins wrote many ayres for the trio sonata combination, including a series of ninety-one in Lbl Add. 31426 about half of which are also in Add. 31430. The series in Add. 31431 has no concordances

with Add.31430, and only four with a further series of five movements in Add.31426, where the ascription in the bass part has been altered to 'Colm.'. Most of the pieces are attributed to Coleman in Ob MSS Mus. Sch. e.410-4 and Och 353-6 (see Table VIII below).

Christopher Gibbons: two chamber sonatas

Nos. 134-44 in Add.31431 are by Christopher Gibbons (1615-1676):<sup>38</sup> 139-44 are also in Lbl Add.31435, principally a set of parts of chamber music by Locke. No.134 is headed 'sonata', a title presumably meant to apply to all five pieces 134-138, which form a trio sonata in A minor consisting of a prelude and two almain/courant pairs. The six pieces shared with Add.31435 form a similar sonata in D minor, in spite of a change of key signature at no.142. Other sources include Ob MSS Mus.Sch.c.53; d.231; Och 8.

Other non-Italian music

The isolated no.145, 'An excellent curtain tune Mr Locke's' is also in US-NYp Drexel 3976, 'The Rare Theatrical and other compositions by Mr Mathew Lock',<sup>39</sup> but its precise origin is unknown. The only other English work in the main series of three-part compositions is a sonata by 'Mr Blackwell', no doubt Isaac Blackwell (d.1699), who was organist of St Paul's from 1687 to 1699. He was also organist of St Dunstan in the West (1674-99) and St Michael's Cornhill (1684-99) and contributed to Cantiones Sacrae (1674) and Playford's Choice Ayres (1675).<sup>40</sup>



After the numbered series of works for two trebles and bass are a few pieces for different combinations. In the first treble book are '20 lessons of Mr Matthew Locke for 2 parts treble and bass', some of his Consort for several friends (for concordances, etc., see Add.10444-5 above). The second treble has the treble part of 'Mr John Jenkins lyra consort of 3 parts 1 treble 1 bass 1 lyra': an inscription on f.91 reads 'Mr John Jenkins his lyra consort, harpe-way flat, for 3 parts 1 lyra 1 treb 1 bass'. The lyra viol part must have been in the lost tenor book. In spite of the copyist's confident ascription of the music to Jenkins it appears to be unique and is not regarded as authentic.<sup>41</sup>

The English contents of the collection therefore include a variety of music ranging from the pre-Civil War Royal Consort through Locke's Broken Consort, where the English fantasy-suite is combined with the two treble and bass instrumentation of the Italian trio sonata, to works by Christopher Gibbons and Isaac Blackwell which are actually entitled 'sonata'. The Italian compositions in the source can be seen to be taking their place within this English collection rather than displacing the native tradition; here, as in Lbl Add.10444-5, English and Continental music appear to enjoy an equal status.

## TABLE VIII

British Library Additional MS 31431 nos.95-133:

Ayres and dances ascribed to Jenkins

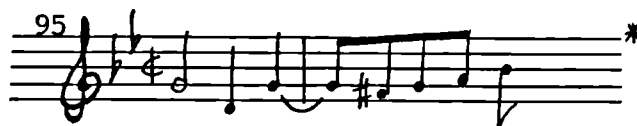
Dodd no  
(see p 334)

ad 31426

Mus. Sch  
c 410-4  
Och 353-6  
21

Coleman-9/301

1



2

22



" 302

5

23



" 303

27



" 307

25



" 305

4

26



" 306

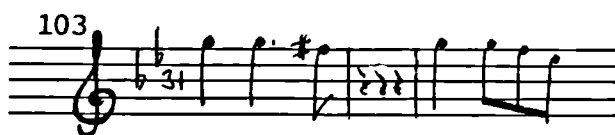


" 310



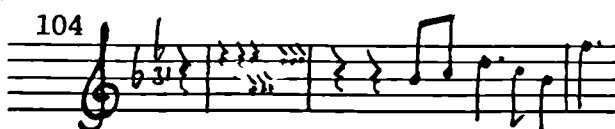
" 311

28



" 308

29



" 309

\* GB - En MS  
5777 f 54v

MS Mus Sch 2410-4  
Och 353-6

no  
33



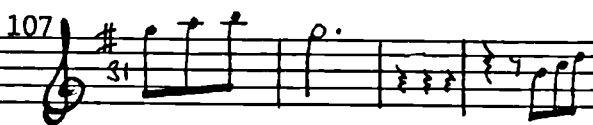
Coleman-7/254

30



" 251

31



" 252

34



" 255

36



Coleman-11/381

37



" 382

38



" 383

39



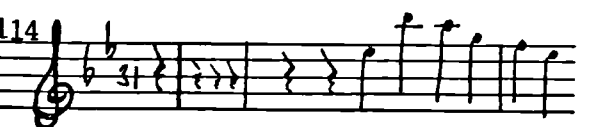
" 384

40



" 385

41



" 386

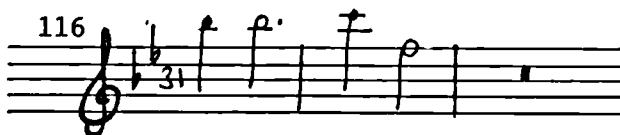
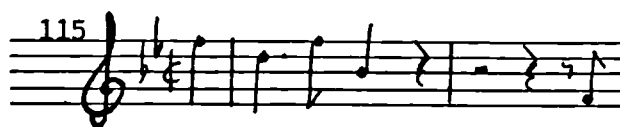
Mus Sch  
e 431-6

Och 1011

Coleman-11/387

p 103

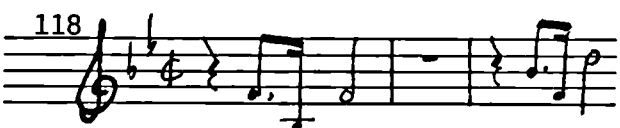
p 51-2



" 388



" 389



" 390



" 391



" 392

Mus Sch. e 410-4  
Och 353-b no.  
42

Coleman-5/191

43



" 192

44



" 193

45



" 194

Mos Sch  
c 431-6  
p 115

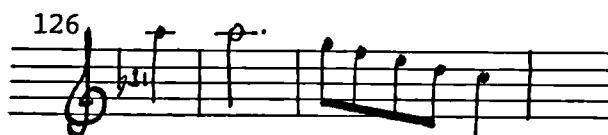
Och 1011

p 41-2

Coleman-5/195

116

"



" 196

117

"



" 197

118

42-3



" 198

119

"



" 199

120

"



" 200

121

44-5



" 201

122

"



" 202

123

"



" 203

A certain amount is known about Sir Gabriel Roberts, the owner of Add.31431,<sup>42</sup> and his partbooks can therefore be placed in a personal and social context. Sir Gabriel was the eldest son of Lewes Roberts, author of The Merchants Mappe of Commerce, and died in 1715 aged 85. His will survives in the copy made for the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and is dated 6 May 1714,<sup>43</sup> so the date of death given in le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana must be incorrect. A date of birth c.1630 is consistent with his parents' marriage in November 1626<sup>44</sup> (there were two elder daughters) and his status as an established merchant in 1659, when he took John Verney as an apprentice (see below).

Roberts became a respected and successful member of the London business community, eventually serving as Deputy Governor of the Levant Company, Deputy Governor and Sub-Governor of the Royal African Company, and as a director of the East India Company. His diligence in these responsibilities is shown by the fact that he was absent from only two out of 290 meetings of the court of the African Company between 1685 and 1690,<sup>45</sup> and the worldly rewards of his industry can be seen in his will, where he was able to bequeath more than £12,000 in cash as well as a coach and horses and unspecified plate and other property. He was knighted on 14 January 1678.<sup>46</sup>

His music books are clearly the property of a wealthy man. Not only are they finely copied on the more expensive demy rather than foolscap paper, but they have gilt top edges, a most unusual feature in a music source. The books are not the only evidence suggesting that Roberts took a serious interest in music.

In 1659 Gabriel Roberts took John Verney, of the aristocratic Buckinghamshire family, as an apprentice.<sup>47</sup> Roberts' signature appears on the indenture dated 31 December 1659, and is clearly the same as that in Add.31431, where the table of contents is also in the same hand. Young John Verney was an enthusiast for the bass viol, which in 1656 he was said to play very well 'for his time'.<sup>48</sup> He took a lyra viol with him to Aleppo, where he was sent in 1662 to work in Gabriel Roberts' 'factory', and wrote home requesting strings and bridges.<sup>49</sup> After his return in 1674 he remained on friendly terms with Roberts,<sup>50</sup> and the inclusion of a lyra viol consort in Add.31431 is possibly due to him.

John Verney became an apprentice upon exactly the same terms as any other young man. The normal printed indenture was signed, and a manuscript bond added in which Sir Ralph Verney undertook to pay £1000 in respect of John's apprenticeship and to reimburse Roberts for any of his property that John might 'imbezell, steale, purloine, wast, consume, misspend or unlawfully or unduly make away, lend, detain or negligently loose'. Once apprenticed, however, John found Roberts a fair and considerate master who more than met his obligations, and the Verney correspondence shows that he spent much of his leisure time with the Roberts family.<sup>51</sup>

In one respect only was Roberts less than satisfactory: he was reluctant to part with his money, a quality of character which no doubt contributed to his success. On 10 September 1661 William Love, an alderman of London and evidently a friend of the Verneys, wrote to Sir Ralph saying that the sum Roberts proposed to give John to equip himself for the voyage to Aleppo, £10 or £12 'as

his master did him' was not enough. Love seems to have used his influence to persuade Roberts to increase the sum to £20.<sup>52</sup> Roberts' financial caution and good judgement are also reflected in John's letter of 22 January 1662, where he says that his master had had no dealings with a number of merchants who had recently gone bankrupt.

It is unfortunate that the Verney letters relating to Gabriel Roberts contain no references to music, but perhaps not surprising, since so everyday a leisure activity might not be thought worth mentioning, especially by a correspondent as reluctant and unimaginative as John appears to have been. Few and far between, and sometimes largely given over to apologies, his letters are mostly confined to simple factual information about his health, work and future plans. But Gabriel Roberts' willingness to take him as an apprentice when other merchants apparently would not,<sup>53</sup> and Sir Ralph's readiness to let his son go to him, could mean that a mutual interest in music attracted both sides.

Gabriel Roberts' attitude to his money suggests that he would not have bought an expensive set of parts to ornament a bookshelf, but if music formed an important part of his life the contents of his collection all fall into place. As a youth he would have grown up with the Royal Consort and through his business he was well placed to obtain Italian prints and manuscript copies: he is described in John's indenture as 'one of ye merchants of London trading to ye Levant seas' and ships engaged in that trade naturally put in at Italian ports. The Dover, in which John sailed to the Levant, stayed at Leghorn long enough for him to visit



Pisa and Florence.<sup>54</sup> Other works in Add.31431, by Locke, Gibbons and Blackwell, are by musicians who were active in London.

The collection seems to reflect Roberts' interest in music over many years, and could well have been copied from older books belonging to him. By 1680 some of these could have been twenty or thirty years old, and the decision to transfer his favourite pieces to a carefully copied and finely bound set of parts would have been a businesslike and sensible one. The contents of Add. 31431 therefore seem to be a cumulative, organic collection rather than a chance combination of varied music.

The demy paper of the source is marked with the normal fleur-de-lys and countermarked IHS/IC. Each page, cut all round with a gilt top edge, measures 175 mm. x 230 mm., with six staves, 12 mm. x 195 mm. The three-stave rastrum measures 62.5 mm. in Part i; 60.5 mm. in Part ii.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. Augustus Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum, iii, London 1909 R/1965, 184-5. Dated 'mid 17th century'.
2. For a list of MSS in this hand and a discussion of Jenkins' real autograph see Willetts, 'Autograph Music'; see also John Jenkins, Consort Music of Four Parts (ed. Andrew Ashbee), London 1969 (Musica Britannica xxvi), xix for a facsimile of Jenkins' signature; Ashbee, 'A Further Look at some of the Le Strange Manuscripts', Chelys v (1973-4), 24-41.
3. Willetts, op. cit.
4. List of sources from E.H.Meyer, Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord-und Mitteleuropa, Kassel 1934, 136, with additions. Egerton 3665 is the 'Tregian manuscript', an authoritative early seventeenth-century score.
5. See John Bennett and Pamela J. Willetts, 'Richard Mico', Chelys vi (1975-6), 24-46, which supersedes all other biographical information.
6. The whole of this section is transcribed in Sabol (ed), Four Hundred Songs and Dances. see also W.J. Lawrence, 'Notes on a Collection of Masque Music', ML iii (1922), 49-58; J.P. Cutts, 'Jacobean Masque and Stage Music', ML xxxv (1954), 185-200; Pamela J. Willetts, 'Sir Nicholas le Strange's Collection of Masque Music', BMQ xxix (1965), 79-81; Jean Knowlton, 'Dating the Masque Dances in B.M. Add. MS 10444', BMQ xxxii (1968), 99-102; A.J. Sabol. Songs and Dances of the Stuart Masque, Providence 1959.

7. Modern ed. of the complete Consort for several friends in Matthew Locke, Chamber Music (ed. Michael Tilmouth), i, London 1971 (Musica Britannica xxxi), 11-56. See also Rosamund E.M. Harding, A Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke, Oxford 1971; thematic index (dividing the work into twelve rather than eight suites) 91-95; list of sources (omitting Add.33236) and commentary in Table 1, 157-8; C.D.S. Field, 'Matthew Locke and the Consort Suite', ML li (1970), 15-25; M. Tilmouth, 'Revisions in the Chamber Music of Matthew Locke', PRMA xcvi (1971-2), 96.
8. Modern ed. of Suite no.2 in D minor in William Lawes, Select Consort Music (ed. M. Lefkowitz), London 1963 (Musica Britannica xxi), 127; thematic index and discussion of sources in Chelys vi (1975-6), 81-4. See also Murray Lefkowitz, William Lawes, London 1960, 74.
9. Modern ed. of sonatas 1, 7 and 8 in Lawes, op. cit., 90-126; see also Lefkowitz, William Lawes, 106-125, 269; the string parts in Add.10445 are not mentioned here.
10. See VDGS Provisional Index, Chelys viii (1978-9), 71-85, nos. 145-160.
11. Modern ed. of two fantasias in Jacobean Consort Music (ed. Thurston Dart and William Coates), London 1955 (Musica Britannica ix), 181-2. See also Richard Charteris, John Coprario, a Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Biographical Introduction, New York 1977, 75-6.

12. See Herbert Schneider, Chronologisch-Thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean Baptiste Lully, Tutzing 1981; Les Amants Magnifiques, 173-180; Psyché, 191-202.
13. Briquet, Les Filigranes (1968), supplementary material, 34-5.
14. Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1836-1840, London 1843, 38.
15. Thomas Oliphant, Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum, London 1842, 81-2.
16. Now removed to the Printed Books department: see note in Add.10444.
17. Sabol 1978, 31n.
18. Cutts, op.cit.
19. Murray Lefkowitz, 'Shadwell and Locke's Psyche: the French Connection', PRMA cvi (1980), 42-5.
20. Willetts 1965.
21. John Playford, Choice Songs and Ayres ... being most of the newest songs sung at court and at the publick theatres. The first book, London 1673, 3-4. The text begins 'Thus Cupid', rather than ''Tis Cupid'.
22. See Andrew Ashbee, 'Music for Treble, Bass and Organ by John Jenkins', Chelys vi (1975-6), 25-42.
23. Lbl Add.27550-54, a set of parts dated 1674 of late fantasias by Jenkins, has a foolscap mark and measures 315 mm. x 200 mm., cut. For the authenticity of the date see Willetts, 'John Lilly'.
24. G. Babinet de Rencogne, Recueil de documents, 96.

25. Henri Lacombe, 'Filigranes de l'Angoumois', Contribution à l'histoire de la papeterie en France ii (1935), 132-5, 116.
26. Ibid.
27. See Tilmouth, 'Revisions'.
28. Thomas Shadwell, Psyche: a Tragedy, London 1675. Locke's music is in Matthew Locke, The English Opera, or the Vocal Music in Psyche with the instrumental therein intermix'd, London 1675; modern ed. in Matthew Locke, Dramatic Music (ed. M. Tilmouth), London 1986 (Musica Britannica li), 87.
29. Shadwell's preface states 'All the instrumental music (which is not mingled with the vocal) was composed by that great master Seigneur Gio. Baptista Draghi'.
30. References are to page numbers in Locke, Dramatic Music, 1986.
31. See Lefkowitz, 1980.
32. See Lefkowitz, William Lawes, 68-87, 267-8; Gordon Dodd, 'William Lawes - Royall Consort Suite no.9 in F', Chelys vi (1975-6), 4-9; thematic index *ibid.* 81-4.
33. Dodd, *op.cit.*, 6.
34. Manfred K. Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era, London 1948 R/1978, 192.
35. Lefkowitz, William Lawes, 80.
36. Modern ed. in Matthew Locke, Chamber Music (ed. M. Tilmouth) ii, London 1972 (Musica Britannica xxxii), 1-30. See also Harding, A Thematic Catalogue, 100-102 and Table 4; Field, 'Matthew Locke'; Tilmouth, 'Revisions'; Lefkowitz, 'Locke Matthew', Grove xi, 108-117.

37. These ayres appear to be unique: see VDGS Provisional Index, Chelys vii (1977), 73-85.
38. See C.G. and S.F. Rayner, 'Christopher Gibbons: "That famous Musitian"', MD xxiv (1970), 151; Meyer, Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik, 139.
39. Harding, A Thematic Catalogue, 118-128; the 'excellent curtain tune' is no.220, p.123.
40. See Donovan Dawe, Organists of the City of London, Padstowe 1983, 80.
41. C. Coxon, 'A Handlist of the Sources of John Jenkins' Vocal and Instrumental Music', RMAR ix (1971), 73 ignores this source.
42. The principal sources of information about Gabriel Roberts are The Dictionary of Welsh Biography, London 1959, 871-2; Joseph Hunter, Familiae Minorum Gentium, London 1894, (Harleian Society Publication xxxviii, xxxix) i, 3-4; Peter le Neve, Pedigrees of the Knights made by King Charles II ..., London 1873 (Harl. Soc. Pub. viii), 323; John le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana, being the inscriptions on the monuments of several eminent persons deceased, London 1719, 291; Frances Parthenope, Lady Verney, and Margaret Maria, Lady Verney, Memoirs of the Verney Family, London 1892-99; Sir William Musgrave, Obituary Prior to 1800, v, London 1901 (Harl. Soc. Pub. xlvi), 149; DNB xlvi, 388; A.B. Beavan, Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III - 1908, i, London 1908, 77, 258; ii, London 1913, 111. Correspondence of the Roberts family, including some letters of Gabriel himself, is in Add.45511 (transcripts in Add.45512).

43. P.C.C. 57 Fagg, proved 29 March 1715.
44. Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued by the Bishop of London 1611-1828, ii, London 1887 (Harl. Soc. Pub. xxvi), 180.
45. K.G. Davies, The Royal African Company, London 1957, 158.
46. Le Neve, Pedigrees, 323; W.A. Shaw, The Knights of England, London 1906, 252.
47. The correspondence of the Verney family is available on microfilm in the Manuscript Department of the British Library: the indenture dated 31 December 1659 is almost at the end of Microfilm 636/16. Much of the relevant information is also in the Verney Memoirs.
48. Letter, 29 November 1656.
49. Letter, 20 August 1662; Memoirs, 107.
50. Memoirs, 271.
51. Letter, 6 March 1660; Memoirs, 99: Roberts taught John Verney to keep 'merchant's accounts of merchants bookes, which indeed is not ordinary'. Letter, 18 April 1660: John received sympathetic care after being quite seriously scalded in a domestic accident.
52. Letter, 27 April 1662; Memoirs, 102.
53. In a letter of 19 October 1659 John expresses regret that his father has been unable to find a satisfactory merchant to take him.
54. Letter, June 30 1662; Memoirs, 102.

## CHAPTER X

## ITALIAN CHURCH MUSIC COPIED BY LOCKE AND JEFFREYS

Matthew Locke and George Jeffreys were in some ways affected less than other English musicians by the events of the Civil War and Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence that Jeffreys ever worked as a professional musician, and during the Commonwealth Locke built up a sound career as a composer of instrumental and dramatic music, including his published Little Consort of 1656 and his contributions to The Siege of Rhodes (1656) and Cupid and Death (1659).<sup>2</sup> In 1648, however, Locke was in the Low Countries, where he made copies in score of vocal music by Italian composers, now part of Lbl Add. 31437.<sup>3</sup> Jeffreys copied a large collection of Italian music in parts, Lbl Add. 31479. These two composers, neither of whom belonged to the Chapel Royal or worked in the mainstream of Anglican choral music, have in fact left the most significant surviving evidence of the interest taken in Italian church music by English composers before the Restoration.

Locke's score of Italian motets forms folios 29 to 43 of the composite volume Add. 31437. This manuscript has sometimes been described as though it has always been a single book, for example by Lefkowitz:

Locke's earliest sacred works are the fourteen anthems and four motets in the autograph volume (Lbm 31437) that he compiled in the Netherlands.<sup>4</sup>



Such a description ignores major differences in paper and ruling as well as in musical content between the Italian section and Locke's own compositions in folios 1-19 (English anthems) and 20-28 (Latin motets). Two comments written in the score by Philip Hayes (1738-1797) suggest that in his time the Italian music was still in a separate volume even if the two sections containing Locke's own compositions had been combined. On f.1 he writes:

This manuscript is an original of Mathew Lock and contains many of his own productions which were given by himself to the Musick School

and on f.29, the first folio of the Italian section:

This Musick Book is in the hand writing of Mr Mathew Lock and seems to have been selected from various printed works of many excellent musicians whose fame first began in the low countries, where music in a great measure had its birth, and from thence reached Italy &c.

Even a cursory glance at the paper and stave ruling shows that the Italian section, folios 29-43, is distinct structurally as well as in musical content from the rest of the volume. Its contents are set out in Table I below, showing Locke's own ascriptions and where possible confirmation from printed sources in London or Durham. The music is copied across complete openings.

Table I

## Add.31437: Italian motets

| Folio | Title                       | Voices | Locke ascription                                    | Notes  |
|-------|-----------------------------|--------|---|--|
| 29    |                             |        |   | f.29 unruled: unscribed 'A/Collection of Songs when/<br>I was in the Low -/- Countreys/1648' |
| 29v   | Jesu, Domine pie            | SB bc  | Ex opus tertium, Liber primus<br>Galiatio Sabbatino | Sabbatini op.3 no.7  |
| 30v   | O verum Christi corpus      | SB bc  |   | op.3 no.8  |
| 30v   | Domine Jesus, in qua nocte  | SAB bc |   | op.3 no.12   |
| 32    | O nomen Jesu, nomen dulce   | ATB bc |   | op.3 no.13   |
| 32v   | O clementissimi Domine      | SSB bc |   | op.3 no.14   |
| 34v   | Salve meum salutare         | SB bc  | Liber secundus, Opus septimus<br>ejusdem Authoris   | Sabbatini op.7 no.4  |
| 35v   | Dulcis Christe, ad te venio | ATB bc | Ex Libro quarto Joannis<br>Rovetta                  | Rovetta, <u>Gemma Musicalis</u>  |
| 36v   | Peccavi graviter coram te   | TTB bc | Ex opera quinto ejusdem<br>Authoris                 | Rovetta, op.5 no.13  |
| 38    | Ecce, Dominus posuit mensam | ATB bc | Ex manipulo ejusdem Authoris                        |  |
| 38v   | Salve Regina, mater         | TTB bc |   |  |

| Folio | Title                        | Voices | Locke ascription                    | Notes             |
|-------|------------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 39v   | Anima mea liquefacta est     | TTB bc | Di F. Buonaventura di Fogliano      |                   |
| 40v   | O Jesu mi dulcissime         | ATB bc | alias Francesco Costanzo Lib. seod. |                   |
| 41v   | Congregavit Dominus agnas    | S bc   | Op.9 Lib 1 Galatlo Sabatino         | Headed 'Frottulo' |
| 41v   | O bone Jesu                  | A bc   |                                     |                   |
| 42v   | Jesu quorā in lectulo clauso | A bc   |                                     |                   |
| 43v   |                              |        |                                     | Unruled           |

Galeazzo Sabbatini was born at Pesaro in 1597 and died there in 1662. His Opus 3, for two to five voices and continuo, was published at Venice in 1626, and Opus 7, for three to five voices and continuo, in 1637; a further edition was published at Antwerp in 1641.<sup>5</sup> Sacri Lodi, concerti, op.9, was published at Venice in 1640. Giovanni Rovetta was born in Venice c.1595, and spent his working life at St Mark's, where in 1644 he succeeded Monteverdi as maestro di capella; he died in 1668. Locke's reference to 'Liber quarto' clearly refers to Gemma Musicalis, diversis cantionibus sacris tribus, quator et cinque vocibus ... liber quartus, Antwerp 1649, a collection of earlier work;<sup>6</sup> 'Dulcis Christe' had already appeared in his Opus 3. Opus 5 was published in Venice in 1639. The third composer is more obscure. One Francesco Costanzo da Cosena is known only for his Il primo libro dell'i motetti, Naples 1621,<sup>7</sup> but Locke clearly refers on f.39v to 'Lib. secund.'. His care with other ascriptions indicates that he copied this work from a print which has not survived: the number of seventeenth-century publications represented by a single surviving example makes this far from surprising.

The watermark of the Italian section is a paschal lamb that could well be Angoumois.<sup>8</sup> Heawood's few examples are all from Netherlands sources and date from c.1648. A broadly similar example from Add.10445 is shown as illustration XVII. The staves in this part of the manuscript were not drawn with a rastrum but with a straight-edge, one line at a time, although in several places they show upward parallel curves that suggest slightly careless rastrum ruling. The explanation must be that

the book was bound 'before ruling, and the curves are due to the pen's following the straight-edge and dipping into the gutter. The edges of the paper are equally deceptive: the absence of margins and their neatly-cut appearance suggests that they have been cropped for conservation purposes, but on f.32, for example, in the treble part of the second system, the syllable 'com' of 'commemorationem' has been placed above the rest of the word, and in the tenor part the syllable 'tio' has been treated in the same way. A look at the underlay elsewhere shows that the only reason for this arrangement was to get the words onto the correct line; had there been a margin available, Locke would have used it. The present cut edges therefore date from the original binding of the volume, before the staves were ruled.

Thus there are many ways in which Add.31437 folios 29-43 do not form a typical English music source. The book was ruled after binding, and even the cut size of the paper, with folios measuring c.310 mm. x 199 mm. is large for a music book of this period. The layout of the staves is as unusual as the method of ruling them, as they extend to the outer edges of each opening without margins; the small margins visible at the inside edge of each folio are probably the result of ruling into an already bound volume. Each page has sixteen staves approximately 8 mm. wide, again a marked contrast with a typical English music source.

Locke's own compositions in Add.31437 are all copied on paper that appears to be significantly later than 1648. Folios 1-19 contain fourteen English anthems for three voices and basso continuo, without trebles, which suggests that the music was

composed during the Commonwealth or shortly after the Restoration.<sup>9</sup>  
 Locke himself, admittedly in order to score a point against  
 Thomas Salmon in their public argument, refers to the shortage  
 of trained boy singers in the early 1660s:

And who but he [Thomas Salmon] or Old Nick for him  
 [would have affirmed] that those excellent Young men of  
 His Majesties Chappel, did many of them perfectly under-  
 stand the Rudiments of Musick before His Majesties happy  
 Return? The contrary being so evident, that for above a  
 Year after the Opening of His Majesties Chappel the  
 Orderers of the Musick there, were necessitated to  
 supply the superior Parts of their Musick with Cornets  
 and Mens feigned voices, there not being one Lad, for  
 all that time, capable of singing his part readily.<sup>10</sup>

The watermark is a symmetrical five-pointed foolscap counter-  
 marked IC which appears to be Angoumois,<sup>11</sup> and the stave ruling  
 has been prepared especially for a four-part score with twelve  
 10 mm. x 158 mm. staves drawn in three separate blocks of four.  
 This unusual ruling, not found in the remaining Locke section  
 of Add.31437, folios 20-28, indicates that the score of English  
 anthems might have been made for a special purpose: Rosamund  
 Harding's suggestion that it was copied c.1660 for the use of  
 the new Chapel Royal is consistent with the nature of the music  
 and its apparent completion in a single phase of copying on  
 specially ruled paper. The watermark is unlikely to be earlier  
 than c.1654, when the earliest dated Angoumois mark is found  
 in an English music source (Ob MSS Mus.Sch. e.407-9), or later

than 1662, when the seven-pointed foolscap and Amsterdam arms began to predominate in foolscap-size music paper. A seven-pointed foolscap is in fact found in the remaining section of Add.31437, folios 20-28, containing four Latin motets: the use of soprano voices in two of these suggests that they were written after the Restoration, possibly for the Catholic chapel of Queen Catherine, where Locke became organist in 1662.

George Jeffreys' collection of Italian music, in parts, is on a much larger scale than Locke's, consisting of thirteen solo motets, sixty-one for two voices and thirty-six for three. Only two composers are identified in the parts, Carissimi and Gilles Hayne (called 'Hennio'), but the majority of the motets can be identified from Italian partbooks published in or before 1638 and now in the library of Christ Church, Oxford.<sup>12</sup> A complete thematic index is given in Table II below.

The composer represented by the largest number of works (20) is Alessandro Grandi,<sup>13</sup> who held important posts at Ferrara (1610-1617), Venice (1617-1627) and Bergamo (1627-1630). From 1620 until 1627 he was vice maestro di capella to Monteverdi at St Mark's, where he composed mainly for smaller forces and the lesser festivals, and his influence on younger contemporaries such as Schutz was probably greater than that of Monteverdi himself. Giovanni Felice Sances (1600-1679), represented by ten motets from his 1638 publication,<sup>14</sup> was born in Italy but held posts from 1636 at the Imperial chapel in Vienna, successively serving as singer, vice Kapellmeister (1649) and Kapellmeister (1669). Egidio Trabbatone, one of a family of musicians,

was organist and maestro di capella at Varese from 1625 to 1638 and then became organist at S. Vittore, Seregno.<sup>15</sup> Although a minor figure compared with the two previous composers, he contributed sixteen motets to Jeffreys' collection, more than any other composer except Grandi. Aloisi, born in Bologna, was active between 1628 and 1644: a Franciscan friar, he served as maestro di capella at Sacile, near Udine, and at the Franciscan friary in Bologna. Facchi was organist of Vicenza cathedral from 1624 to 1661, and Tomasi, born c.1585 at Comacchio near Ferrara, ultimately became maestro at the collegiate church of Massafiscaglia in the same area. Desiderio Pecci (c.1587-1632) was born at Siena,<sup>16</sup> and Francesco Maria Marini is known only for his 1637 collection of Concerti Spirituali.<sup>17</sup>

One of the works Jeffreys has ascribed to Carissimi, the two-voice 'Anima Mea' (no.60), is in fact by Trabbatone; another, the three-voice 'Quam pulchra es' (no.34) is a version of the two-voice setting of the same text in Rovetta's Bicinia Sacra of 1648. This is a collection of earlier work, and it is possible that Jeffreys obtained a manuscript copy of an earlier three-voice arrangement. The collection also includes four works correctly attributed to Carissimi, in each case at or near the end of a section. Carissimi was maestro di capella at the German College in Rome, a Jesuit seminary, from 1629 to 1674.<sup>18</sup> All of the motets included in Add.31479 were published in anthologies, but some of these appeared too late to have been copied by Jeffreys. The composer identified as 'Hennio' is Gilles Hayne (1590-1650), who worked at Liege and Dusseldorf.<sup>19</sup> Finally,



Add.31479 has five concordances with Lbl Add.31440, and contains about half the sacred music from that source, which was copied by Angelo Notari (1566-1663), an Italian who worked in England from c.1610.<sup>20</sup> He published a book of Italian secular music, Prima Musiche Nuove, in London in 1613, and it is possible that the anonymous sacred music in Add.31440 is also of his own composition.

The music contained in these partbooks has a significant but indirect relationship with printed sources now at Christ Church. The selection of works from prints follows no particular pattern, and there are several instances where only a few of the eligible motets from a print have been included in the manuscript parts. Some Marian texts, and others that might have been thought idolatrous, have been modified, but it is unlikely that Jeffreys was responsible for the changes as he copied at least nine Marian texts and the Sances 'O crux benedicta' without alteration. The large number of motets from Trabbatone's Opus 4, by far the most from any single work, suggests that they are more likely than others to have been copied directly from the printed parts, but even the Trabbatone pieces are scattered throughout the collection.

## TABLE II

## British Library Additional MS 31479: Thematic Index

## Key to short titles

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| Aloisi Contextus | Joannes Baptista Aloysius, <u>Contextus Musicarum Proportionum, quo concertuum varietati binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis &amp; senis vocibus debitum...</u> Op.4, Venice 1637 |
| Aloisi Corona    | Joannes Baptista Aloviusius, <u>Corona Stellarum Duodecim Antiphonis Beata Virginis</u> Op.5, Venice 1637  |
| Facchi           | Agostino Facho, <u>Motetti a doi, tre, quatro &amp; cinque voce con le littanie della Madonna a 6 ... libro sec.</u> , Venice 1635   |
| Grandi 1         | Alessandro Grandi, <u>Il primo libro de motetti a due, tre, quatro, cinque e otto voce</u> , Venice 1610   |
| Grandi 2         | - <u>Il secondo libro de motetti...</u> , Venice 1613  |
| Grandi 4         | - <u>Il quarto libro de motetti...</u> , Venice 1618   |
| Grandi 5         | - <u>Celesti fiori ... libro quinto de suoi concerti a 2,3,4 voci</u> , Venice 1619  |
| Grandi 6         | - <u>Il sesto libro de motetti a 2 &amp; 4 voci</u> , Venice 1630  |
| Grandi 1629      | - <u>Motetti a una e due voci</u> , Venice 1629  |
| Marini           | Francesco Maria Marini, <u>Concerti Spirituali ... a 2,3,4,5,6,7 voci &amp; con instrumenti. Liber primo</u> , Venice 1637   |
| Pecci            | Desiderio Peccio, <u>Sacri Modulatus ad concertum duarum, trium &amp; quator vocum accomodati</u> , Op.3, Venice 1629  |

- Rovetta 1648      Giovanni Rovetta, Bicinia Sacra ... liber tertius, Antwerp 1648
- Sances 1638      Giovanni Felice Sances, Motetti a 1,2,3 e 4 voci, Venice 1638
- Tomasi      Blasio Tomasi, Motecta binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinenda una cum Litaniis B. Mariae Virginis quattor vocibus, Op.6, Venice 1635
- Trabbatone      Egidio Trabbatone, Motetti Concerti a 2,3 e 4 voci, libro secundo, Op.4, Venice 1629
- Add.31440      Lbl Add.31440: Italian sacred and secular music in the hand of Angelo Notari (1566-1663) and some possibly composed by him; c.1620.

## ADDENDA

- Merula 1624      Tarquinio Merula, Il primo libro de Motetti, Venice 1624
- Merula 1628      - Libro secondo de concerti spirituali, Venice 1628

## MUSIC FOR ONE VOICE

1.  Sances 1638 no.8  
Dul-cis a-mor Je - su
2.  Ju-bi - la-te   De-o
3.  Grandi 1629 no.15  
Sal - vum me fac De - us
4.  Sances 1638 no.7  
Au-di - te me Au-di-te
5.  Ex - ul - ta - te De - o
6.  A - ni-ma me - a
7.  Gau-de-a-mus om-nes in Do-mi-no
8.  Can-ta-te Do - mi-no
9.  Sal-va-tor Mun - di
10.  O Ma-ria quam pul - chra es



A-ve A-ve A-ve ma-ris stel-la



Do - - mi-nus (illuminatio)



Lu - ci-fer coe-les-tis

Menula 1628

'Sr. Charissimi'

# MUSIC FOR TWO VOICES



Ho-di-e no-bis de coe-lo

Grandi 1 no.1



Je - su nos - ter dig-nis - si-mus

Grandi 4 no.1



Ve - ni-te fi - li-i

Grandi 2 no.2






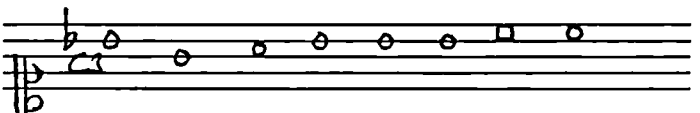



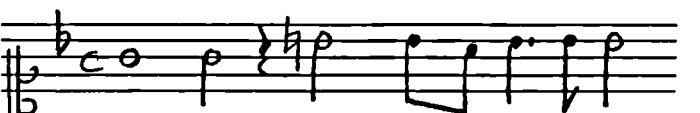


Bon - um est

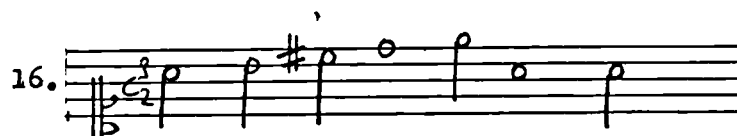
Facchi no.2



Quid ti - mi-di est - is?

Facchi no.3

6.  Grandi 6 no.2  
O dul - ce nu - men
7.  Grandi 4 no.2  
Sal - vum me fac Do - mi-ne
8.  Grandi 6 no.3  
O quam glor-i-o - sus
9.  Grandi 2 no.1  
O quam sua-ve est no-men
10.  Merula 1628  
Add. 31440 70v  
Ho - - - - - (die)
11.  Merula 1628  
O O mag-num mys-ter-i-um
12.  Merula 1628  
O O (nomen Jesu)
13.  Facchi no.4  
Je - su dul - cis me-mo-ri-a
14.  Tomasi no.7  
Ful - ci - te
15.  Facchi no.5  
Om - ni di-e dic Ma - ri - a

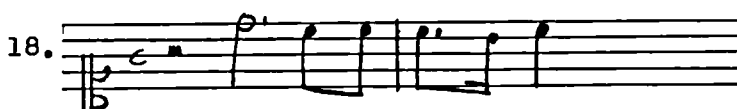


Qui lau-des tu - as can - tat



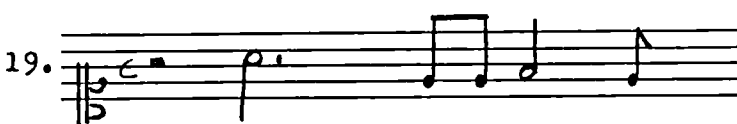
O O be-a-tum vi - rum

Trabbatone no.8



O ad-mir-a - bi-le

Trabbatone no.9



In - di-ca mi - hi

Trabbatone no.10



A - ve Sanc-tis-si-me  
(Messia)

Grandi 6 no.6



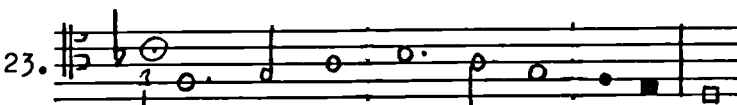
Ec-ce, ec-ce fi-de - les

Trabbatone no.17



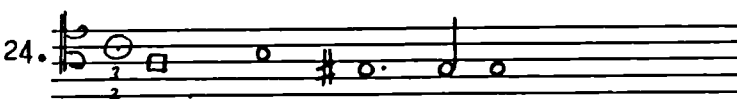
Sal - vum me O (bone)

Sances 1638 no.16



Ju - bi-lent ju - bi-lens in ce-lis

Sances 1638 no.15



E - gre - di - mi-ni

Trabbatone no.15



O Im-ma-cu-la - (te)

Grandi 2 no.7



A - mo-re lan - gue-o



Ve - - - - - ni

Trabbatone no.12



Tu dul - cis est Mes-si - a

Grande 5



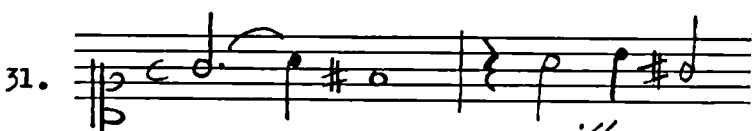
Lu-ce lu - ce se - re - na

Trabbatone no.13



Mi - se - ri-cor-di- as Do-mi-ne

Merula 1624



A - - - - ve

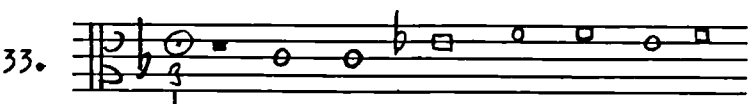
(Maria)

Tomasi no.4



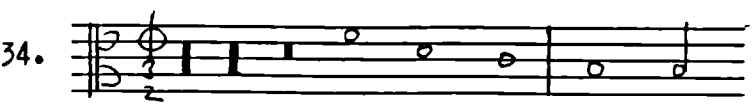
(Quem terra) Co -lunt ado - - (rant)

Facchi no.6



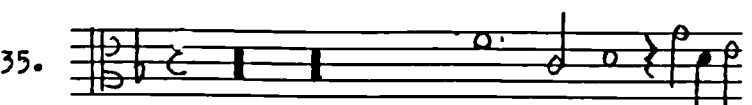
To - ta to - ta pul-chra es

Sances 1638 no.6



Gau-de - te om - nes

Trabbatone no.14



(Domine inclyna coelos) Do- mi-ne

Merula 1628  
Add. 31440 67v



36.  Trabbatone no.2  
Do - mi - ne Do - mi - nus noster
37.  Tomasi no.10  
Tra-he me post te
38.  Grandi 4 no.8  
Ex- ul - ta et laetare
39.  Pecci no.1  
Sub tu - um prae-si - di-um
40.  A - ni-ma Chri - sti sancti-  
(fica me)
41.  Trabbatone no.7  
De - us de - us me - us
42.  Tomasi no.9  
To-ta pulchra es
43.  Sances 1638 no.13  
De - us in ad - ju-to-ri-um
44.  0 dulcis dulcis Jesu
45.  Aloisi Corona no.10  
Sal - ve   (Regina)

46.   
In - cly - na    inclina Do - mine

Aloisi Contextus  
no.12

47.   
Si - cut li - li - um

Marini no.8

48.   
Pec - ca - vi su - pernumerum

50.   
Et    in - tro - e - un - tes

51.   
Con - so - la - re

52.   
O Je - su    O Je - su vita mea

53.   
(Quemadmodum)    Quae vox est is - ta

Grandi 6 no.6

54.   
(Confitemini Domino)    Quo - ni - am bo - nus

Trabbatone no.3

55.   
Do - mi - nus    (in igne  
veniet)

Merula 1624

56.   
Sal - vum me fac De - us

Merula 1628

57.  Trabbatone no. 4  
Que vox dul-cis est is-ta

58.  Trabbatone no. 1  
Sanc-ti tu - i Do - mi-ni

59.  Trabbatone no. 5  
In con-ver-ten-do Do - minus

60.  Trabbatone no. 6  
A - ni-ma me - a in aeterna

61.  Merula 1624  
O bo-ne Jesu


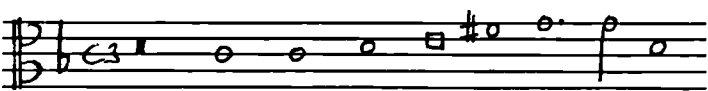


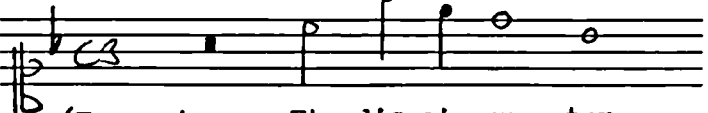

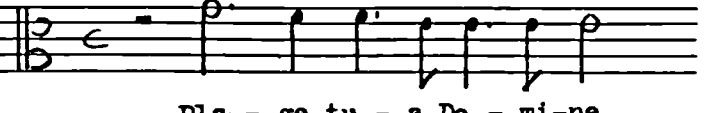
62.  Merula 1624  
Add. 31440 73v  
Fon - tes et om - ni - a


## MUSIC FOR THREE VOICES





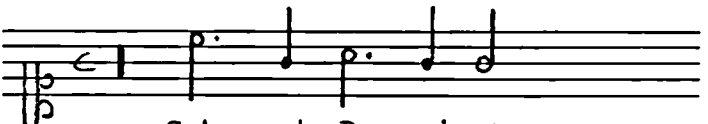



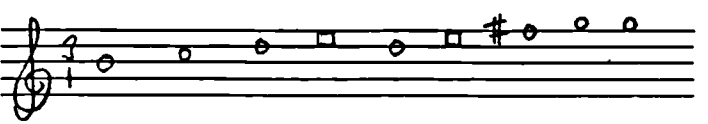


1.  Grandi 1 no. 10  
Si - cut o - cu - li ser - vo - rum

2.  Grandi 1 no. 8  
O quan-to pul - chra es

3.  Grandi 2 no. 12  
(Salve radix sancta) Sal - ve

4.  Grandi 5 no.9  
O mag-num sacra-men - tum
5.  Grandi 6 no.13  
O lux splendi - di-or
6.  Grandi 4 no.11  
Hym-num can-te-mus Do-mi - no
7.  Grandi 4 no.12  
Haec est vera Eccle - -(sia)
8.  Grandi 5 no.8  
(Benedicta sit) Sanc-ta tri - ni-tas
9.  Tomasi no.11  
To-ta to - ta pul - chra es
10.  Facchi no.7  
(Exurgat Deus) Et dis-si-pen - tur
11.  Tomasi no.14  
O glo-ri - o - sa Do - mi-na
12.  Sances 1638 no.20  
O Do-mi-ne (guttae)
13.  Aloisi Corona no. 11  
Sal-ve sal-ve Re - gina Mater
14.  Sances 1638 no.18  
Pla - ge tu - a Do - mi-ne

15.  Sances 1638  
no.19  
O Crux be - ne-dic - ta
16.  Merula 1624  
(O immaculate) Et in ae-ter-nam benedicta
17.  Merula 1624  
Add. 31440 124v  
O quam dul-cis es tu
18.  Sances 1638  
no.21  
A - ve Re - gi - na
19.  Aloisi Contextus  
no.17  
Quid mihi est in ce - lo
20.  Facchi no.9  
O sa - crum con-vi - vi-um
21.  'Hennio'  
(Quid mihi est in celo) Do - mi-ne De-us
22.  Marini no.16  
A - ni-ma me-a lique-fac-ta
23.  Marini no.17  
Mag - num (heriditatis)
24.  Marini no.18  
O vos om - nes
25.  Aloisi Contextus  
no.18  
Be - nig-nis-si-me Je - su

26.  Trabbatone no.21  
O quam ju-cun - dum
27.  (O Domine Deus) O laetissima
28.  Facchi no.10  
Au-di - te coe - - - - - li
29.  Aloisi Corona no.5  
A-ve, a-ve Re-gi -na coelorum
30.  Menula 1624  
Add. 31440 122v  
Sat est Do - mi-ne
31.  Aloisi Contextus no.16  
Dul-cis - si-ma Ma-ri - a
32.  Carissimi  
In - sur-re'-xer - unt in nos
33.  Carissimi  
De-si-de-ra -ta no - bis
34.  Rovetta 1648 no.14  
Quam pul-chra es a - mi- ca me-a
35.  Carissimi  
(Audite sancti) Si tradidesit Dominus
36.  Reggio  
see Och MSS  
43, 48: T 335  
Mi - se-rere mei De - us

British Library Add. MS 31479: commentary to thematic index

#### Music for one voice

12. With two violins; parts incorporated with the continuo.
13. An immensely popular work, apparently not published until 1693 in Harmonia Sacra ... the Second Book, London 1693. Other MS sources (see Andrew V. Jones, The Motets of Carissimi, Ann Arbor 1982, ii,62): F-LYm 133989, 85-89; Pc Res.F. 934<sup>C</sup>, 13-17; Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 1306; GB-Bu 5002, 252-5; Cfm 24.F.4,82v-84v; Cmc 2803,80v-87v; Lam 41, 133-7; Lbl Add.22100,56v-58v; 31460 5-7v; 33234, 13-14, 33235, 103-104v; Eg. 2960,2-4; Och 18, 23-5; 23, 2v-3v, 53, 5-9, 598,24-22 (rev); T 1031, 134-136.

#### Music for two voices

2. Original text: Haec est arbor dignissima.
20. Original text: Ave sanctissimae Maria.

#### Music for three voices

5. Original text: O crux splendor
7. Original text: Haec est Virgo sapiens.
12. Add.33234 f.92v.
14. Add.33234 f.85; 33235 f.26v.

21. Not in Aegidius Hennio, Moteta Sacra ... Liber primus, Antwerp 1640 (1649 ed. at Drc); possibly from Motetti Sacri ..., Op.4, Antwerp 1646 (RISM iv,291). The form of the name suggests that the work originally came from a printed source.
22. Add.33234 f.44; Lam 42, 154-9. See Jones, op. cit., ii,10.
32. Published in Sacrarum modulationum ex variis selectis auctoribus ..., Rome 1642; Teatro musicale de concerti ecclesiastici, Milan 1649, 2/1653; R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris has sacras cantiones ..., Rome 1651. See Jones, op.cit.,ii,55. One of these could have been Jeffreys' source. Other MS sources: F-Pc Res.F 934<sup>a</sup>,205-16; Res Vm<sup>6</sup> MS 6,10-11; Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 1267 no.3; GB-Lam 41, 115-125; T 1425; I-Bc X233, 24v-26; S-Uu Tab. Caps.83 no.13; Voc. Mus. i. hdskr.Caps.11 no.13; Voc. mus. 1. hdskr. Caps. 53 no 10/20.
33. Published in Scielta de Motetti, Rome 1667: see Jones, op.cit.,ii,29. Other MS sources: D-brd Mbs Mus MS 565, 33v; Mus MS 720/2; MUs Sant. Hs.2758,15-22; D-ddr Bds 3101 no.3; F-Pc Res 2181 (i), no.12; Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 1174 no.8; GB-T 746 30v-36; S-Uu Tab. Caps.77 no.101; Voc.Mus 1. hdskr. Caps. 11 no.7; hdskr. Caps. 53 no.10/26.
34. A three-part version of Rovetta, Bicinia Sacra ... liber tertius, Antwerp 1648, no.14.
35. Published in R. Floridus, R. Floridus de Sylvestris a Barbarano has alteras sacras cantiones, Rome 1645, and in R. Floridus, 1651 (see no.32 above); Gio. van Geertson, Scielta di Motetti di diversi eccellentissimi Autori, Rotterdam 1656; Carissimi, Arion Romanus, Konstanze 1670; Harmonia Sacra ... the second book, London 1693. See Jones, op. cit., ii,15. Other MS sources: F-Pc Res.F 934<sup>c</sup>,56-63; Res. Vm<sup>6</sup> MS 6, 20-21; Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 1268 no.7; GB-Bu 5002, 191-7; Lam 41,105-14; Lbl Add.30382,13v-15v; 31472 27-30; 33234, 112-115; Harl.1501, 48-52; Lcm 1064,5v; Ob MSS Mus.Sch.c.9 51-5; c.12-19; c.24-7; Och 43, 12-14; 53,65-70; 623-6; T 335 70-8; S-Uu Tab. Caps.77 no.95;Voc. Mus.i hdskr. Caps.11 no.



3; Caps.53,10-14.

The watermarks and stave rulings of the Italian music partbooks show a remarkable connection with Jeffreys' parts of his own one-, two- and three-voice music, Lcm 920. The whole of Add. 31479 consists of Italian paper with a quartet of hat watermarks (watermark XXII), no doubt two pairs produced at a two-vat mill. Their distribution throughout the parts is shown in Table III overleaf. There are ten staves, 12 mm. x 155 mm., ruled with a five-stave rastrum: the measurement over five staves is 108-109 mm., and over ten c.230 mm. Some deckel edges survive, and the folios measure 302 mm. x 190 mm.

Lcm 920 is a guardbook containing three vocal parts and one for continuo. The vocal parts are in upright quarto and their watermark cannot be deciphered, but the continuo part, folios 160-191, consists of paper identical in every respect, including ruling, with that of Add.31479, apart from having been cut at the top and bottom edges. This similarity suggests that the Italian music partbooks and the continuo part at least of Lcm 920 were begun at about the same time, and there is sufficient evidence in the paper itself, the contents, and our information about Jeffreys' life to suggest when that time might have been. Evidence supporting a date in the late 1650s comes from the North family's consort music collection from Kirtling, since 1667 the property of the Oxford Music School and now in the Bodleian Library.<sup>21</sup> Two sets of parts from this collection, Ob MSS Mus.Sch. c.83 and c.85, contain paper identical in watermark and ruling with that of Add.31479; four more, c.82, c.86, c.88 and c.91, contain the same type of paper with a different ruling.<sup>22</sup>

Table III

Add.31479: distribution of watermarks

## Part 1

| Folio | Mark | Folio | Mark | Folio | Mark |
|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| 1     | -    | 20    | c    | 37    | -    |
| 2     | -    | 21    | -    | 38    | -    |
| 3     | -    | 22    | c    | 39    | d    |
| 4     | d    | 23    | -    | 40    | -    |
| 4A    | -    | 24    | c    | 41    | -    |
| 4B    | -    | 25    | c    | 42    | d    |
| 4C    | d    | 26    | -    | 43    | d    |
| 4D    | -    | 27    | -    | 44    | d    |
| 5     | -    | 28    | -    | 45    | -    |
| 6     | d    | 29    | c    | 46    | -    |
| 7     | c    | 30    | -    | 47    | d    |
| 8     | c    | 31    | c    | 48    | -    |
| 9     | -    | 32    | -    | 49    | -    |
| 10    | c    | 33    | c    | 50    | -    |
| 11    | d    | 33A   | -    | 51    | d    |
| 12    | -    | 33B   | d    | 52    | d    |
| 13    | -    | 33C   | d    | 53    | -    |
| 14    | -    | 33D   | d    | 54    | d    |
| 15    | c    | 33E   | -    | 55    | d    |
| 16    | c    | 33F   | d    | 56    | -    |
| 17    | -    | 34    | -    | 57    | d    |
| 18    | c    | 35    | d    | 58    | c    |
| 19    | c    | 36    | -    | 58A   | a    |

58A

lost folio

## Part ii

| Folio | Mark | Folio | Mark | Folio | Mark |
|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| 1     | a    | 20    | -    | 35    | c    |
| 2     | b    | 20A   | -    | 36    | -    |
| 3     | -    | 21    | -    | 37    | -    |
| 4     | -    | 22    | d    | 38    | c    |
| 5     | -    | 23    | b    | 39    | b    |
| 6     | a    | 24    | d    | 40    | c    |
| 7     | d    | 25    | -    | 41    | -    |
| 8     | -    | 26    | b    | 42    | b    |
| 9     | -    | 27    | -    | 43    | -    |
| 10    | c    | 28    | c    | 44    | c    |
| 11    | -    | 28A   | -    | 45    | d    |
| 12    | c    | 28B   | b    | 46    | -    |
| 13    | -    | 28C   | -    | 47    | -    |
| 14    | -    | 29    | -    | 48    | d    |
| 15    | -    | 30    | -    | 49    | d    |
| 16    | c    | 31    | c    | 50    | d    |
| 17    | c    | 32    | d    | 51    | -    |
| 18    | -    | 33    | d    | 52    | -    |
| 19    | c    | 34    | -    |       |      |

Diagrammatic connections and labels:

- A vertical line on the left of the first column (Folios 1-19) descends from Folio 1 to a label "52".
- From Folio 2, a line descends to a bracket labeled "34", which then points to a label "35".
- From Folio 6, a line descends to a bracket labeled "30", which then points to a label "31".
- From Folio 19, a line descends to a bracket labeled "34", which then points to a label "35".
- From Folio 20, a line descends to a bracket labeled "14", which then points to a label "1".
- From Folio 35, a line descends to a bracket labeled "1", which then points to a label "1".
- From Folio 47, a line descends to a bracket labeled "2 3 4", which then points to a label "2 3 4".

## Part iii

| Folio   | Mark | Folio | Mark | Folio            | Mark |
|---------|------|-------|------|------------------|------|
| 1       | -    | 18    | -    | 31               | a    |
| 2       | -    | 19    | -    | 32               | b    |
| 3       | -    | 20    | -    | 33               | a    |
| 4       | -    | 21    | a    | 34               | a    |
| [478] 5 | -    | 22    | -    | 35               | a    |
| [47C] 6 | -    | 23    | d    | 36               | b    |
| 7       | -    | 24    | -    | 37               | b    |
| 8       | -    | 24A   | d    | 38               | b    |
| 8A      | -    | 24B   | -    | 39               | a    |
| 8B      | -    | 24C   | -    | 40               | a    |
| 8C      | -    | 24D   | a    | 41               | a    |
| 9       | -    | 24E   | a    | 42               | b    |
| 10      | -    | 24F   | -    | 43               | b    |
| 11      | -    | 24G   | d    | 44               | a    |
| 12      | -    | 25    | -    | 45               | b    |
| 13      | -    | 26    | b    | 46               | a    |
| 14      | -    | 27    | -    | 47               | a    |
| 15      | -    | 28    | a    | 47A              | a    |
| 16      | -    | 29    | b    | [478] lost folio |      |
| 17      | -    | 30    | b    | [47C] lost folio |      |

## Part iv

| Folio | Mark | Folio | Mark | Folio | Mark |
|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| 1     | d    | 18    | a    | 31A   | -    |
| 2     | -    | 19    | a    | 31B   | -    |
| 3     | b    | 20    | b    | 32    | -    |
| 4     | a    | 20A   | a    | 33    | -    |
| 5     | a    | 20B   | b    | 34    | -    |
| 6     | a    | 20C   | b    | 35    | -    |
| 7     | b    | 21    | a    | 36    | -    |
| 8     | a    | 22    | a    | 37    | -    |
| 9     | a    | 23    | a    | 38    | -    |
| 10    | b    | 24    | -    | 39    | b    |
| 11    | a    | 25    | -    | 40    | -    |
| 12    | b    | 26    | -    | 41    | -    |
| 13    | a    | 27    | -    | 42    | -    |
| 14    | a    | 28    | b    | 43    | -    |
| 15    | b    | 29    | b    | 44    | -    |
| 16    | -    | 30    | b    | 44A   | -    |
| 17    | b    | 31    | b    |       |      |

1 lost folios  
 44A  
 31A  
 31B  
 lost folio [31C]

Table IV

Ob MS Mus.Sch. c.83: distribution of hat watermarks

| 1st treble |      | 2nd treble         |      | Countertenor |      |
|------------|------|--------------------|------|--------------|------|
| Folio      | Mark | Folio              | Mark | Folio        | Mark |
| 12         | b    | 34                 | b    | 54           | b    |
| 13         | b    | 35                 | -    | 55           | b    |
| 14         | b    | 36                 | -    | 56           | b    |
| 15         | b    | 37                 | b    | 57           | b    |
| 16         | -    | 38                 | -    | 58           | -    |
| 17         | -    | 39                 | b    | 59           | -    |
| 18         | -    | 40                 | -    | 60           | -    |
| 19         | -    | Quiring<br>obscure |      | 61           | -    |
| Tenor      |      | 1st bass           |      | 2nd bass     |      |
| Folio      | Mark | Folio              | Mark | Folio        | Mark |
| 78         | -    | 100                | a    | 124          | b    |
| 79         | b    | 101                | a    | 125          | b    |
| 80         | b    | 102                | b    | 126          | b    |
| 81         | b    | 103                | a    | 127          | a    |
| 82         | -    | 104                | -    | 128          | -    |
| 83         | -    | 105                | -    | 129          | -    |
| 84         | -    | 106                | -    | 130          | -    |
| 85         | b    | 107                | -    | 131          | -    |

In Mus.Sch. c.83 hat paper with the Add.31479 ruling is found in the final gathering of each of the six string parts, which contain two pavaues, two fantasias and two In Nomines by Jenkins: there is also an organ part.<sup>23</sup> Marks XXII a and b appear, distributed as shown in Table IV above. All four versions of mark XXII occur in the treble and bass parts of Mus.Sch. c.85, containing Jenkins' ayres for treble, bass, lyra and harpsichord:<sup>24</sup>

Table V

| Treble |      | Bass    |      |
|--------|------|---------|------|
| Folio  | Mark | Folio   | Mark |
| [ 3    | -    | [ 19    | -    |
| 4      | c    | 20      | c    |
| [ 5    | -    | [ 21    | -    |
| 6      | b    | 22      | d    |
| er. 7  | d    | etc. 23 | -    |
| 8      | -    | 24      | c    |
| 9      | -    | 25      | d    |
| 10     | b    | 26      | -    |
| 11     | -    | 27      | c    |
| 12     | b    | 28      | -    |
| 13     | -    |         |      |
| 14     | a    |         |      |

The lyra part has a pot watermark initialled RRO and the harpsichord a five-pointed foolscap: the combination of watermarks in this set reflects the transitional position of hat paper in general



between the periods of Norman and Angoumois predominance in the fine paper trade.

Only one date appears in the North collection: 1654, in Mus. Sch. e.406-9. Margaret Crum's suggested chronology for the North partbooks places the books consisting of hat paper later than this: in her view, the six mark XXII sources are the latest of the North material. Between 1662 and 1664 large quantities of paper were purchased for use at Kirtling, as well as 'a pinte of the best pricking Inke'.<sup>25</sup> But the prices suggest that the paper was not ruled: it would have been most unusual for the household to have possessed a single rastrum, let alone the variety found in the North music collection, and at least one ruling used at Kirtling occurs in sources from elsewhere. The absence of ruled paper from the Kirtling accounts for 1662-4 (those for the previous years do not survive) is evidence that the paper in the North collection had been purchased before 1662, since any music paper obtained between 1664 and 1667, when the collection was sold to the Oxford Music School, would almost certainly have been Angoumois in origin, marked with the conventional seven-pointed foolscap or Amsterdam arms. The North parts therefore suggest that the mark XXII paper, with or without the Add.31479 ruling, was obtained between 1654 and 1662. A further source with identical paper and ruling is the Christopher Gibbons autograph Ob MS Mus. Sch. c.53: the use of this paper by Gibbons, who spent his entire life in London, confirms that it was ruled up by a London stationer.<sup>26</sup>

Although mark XXII paper occurs in no fewer than nine sources, the quantity of paper surviving amounts to less than a ream: all of the paper of this kind used by Gibbons and Jeffreys, and in the North manuscripts, is likely to have come from a single ream purchased by a stationer between 1654 and 1662 and ruled for music, using two rastra, over a relatively short period. Distortion of mark XXII c is clearly evident in Mus.Sch. c.82, and it is highly improbable that paper supplied to the stationer in more than one consignment and ruled over a longer period would show the close relationship of watermarks and rulings that appears in these nine sources. Thus the dates 1654-1662 do not represent a period of eight years throughout which the mark XXII paper might have been imported, but outer limits between which a single ream was purchased by the stationer and ruled: because of the high cost of paper, and the labour involved in stave ruling, the stationer probably tried to re-sell as quickly as possible.

The three purchasers of the mark XXII paper each used it for a different purpose. The Norths were replacing or expanding an already substantial collection of chamber music parts, an operation which could well have taken some years; Gibbons, judging from the rather slapdash appearance of his partbooks, made a quick copy of the music for private use. George Jeffreys appears to have bought the mark XXII paper in Add.31479 and Lcm 920 to replace losses suffered in the confusion of the Civil War and early Commonwealth: circumstantial evidence suggests that this project was carried out c.1657.

As a complete set of parts of the music for one, two and

three voices, Lcm 920 invites comparison with the surviving books of the complete set of parts for four, five and six voices, Lbl Add. 30829-30 and 17816. These books have decorative bindings of gilded white leather and are made of large paper with a peacock watermark (XVI) similar in general pattern to Heawood 172 (Venice 1651) and 174 (Venice 1628).<sup>27</sup> They are in upright quarto format with cut pages, c.249 mm. x 190 mm., and have eight staves, 12 mm. x c.146 mm., ruled with a four-stave rastrum measuring 88 mm. over four staves, c.190 over eight. Jeffreys' signature appears on f.8 of Add.17816 at the end of 'Jesu dulcedo cordium', the last of a series of seven works which were probably copied here before 1648 (see Ch. VI above). Lcm 920, however, is a set of parts in a modern guardbook, which suggests that the original binding was neither especially ornamental nor durable, and some of the deckle edges of the continuo part still remain, as they do in Add.31479, clear evidence that the volume was not completed as a finely-bound book like Add.30829-30 and 17816.

In 1657 Jeffreys began a period of relatively intense musical activity, producing far more new compositions than he had in the previous six years. This new activity coincided with the return of Lord Hatton from France and with Jeffreys' recovery from a life-threatening illness. His previous major activity in music seems to have been to replace, between 1648 and 1649, a lost four-part score corresponding to the British Library partbooks, and to add some new pieces to this section of his combined autograph score Add.10338. It is possible that another casualty of war or confusion was a fine set of one, two and three voice partbooks

similar to Lbl Add.30829-30 and 17816, and that these were replaced on Lord Hatton's return from France by the set now forming Lcm 920, an operation coinciding with, and to an extent made necessary by, the new phase of composition for ATB and continuo, the forces apparently available to Jeffreys for performance.

Jeffreys' interest in Italian music goes back at least to 1634 (see Ch.VI) and therefore pre-dates his residence at Oxford in the 1640s. Although he could certainly have added to his collection at that time, there is no reason to suppose that he had not started it previously. The indirect relationship between the manuscript parts and the Italian prints, and the fact that almost all of the music copied is from works published no later than 1638, suggests that Jeffreys might have compiled a collection of Italian motets before the Civil War, possibly in the 'other score booke' mentioned in Add.10338. It is likely that this book contained the ascriptions missing from the parts, and that the few works in the partbooks which do have ascriptions, all at or near the end of a section, came into Jeffreys' possession at a later date. His original collection of Italian music could well have included motets for more than three voices, but as part of his renewed musical activity in 1657 he seems to have copied a new set of parts for the limited forces immediately available, much of the music being for the ATB and continuo combination he chose for his own new compositions. A final point of contact between the Italian repertory and Jeffreys' own work is that each contains one composition for two basses and continuo, in either

case added at the end of the two-voice section. These are 'With notes that are both loud and sweet' in Add.10338, completed in the late 1650s, and two-voice motet no.62, 'Fontes et omnia' in Add.31479. 'Mr Pett', named at the beginning of 'With notes' in Add.10338, was possibly the lawyer Peter Pett,<sup>28</sup> and could have been a second bass singer available to Jeffreys in the late 1650s for whom he added these works to his collections.

The two Italian collections described above are not merely earlier than other English sources of Italian sacred music, but reveal a breadth of interest and knowledge that has not been recognised. If the Jeffreys collection reflects the quantity and quality of Italian music circulating in England before the Civil War, it is hardly surprising that Playford's 1664 edition of An Introduction to the Skill of Music contains the following passage:

Nor are these graces of the Italian style any new invention but have been used here in England by most of the Gentlemen of His Majesties Chappel above this 40 years ...<sup>29</sup>

Italians who settled in England, such as Notari, must have had some influence upon English musicians, and it is significant that two such imaginative composers as Locke and Jeffreys have left evidence of the extent and seriousness of their study of the Italian style.<sup>30</sup>

How widely this kind of music was known is a different matter. Bukofzer describes William Child's First Set of Psalms (1639) as 'the first important document of the Italian influence on

English church music,<sup>31</sup> but John Barnard's First Book of Selected Church Music (1641) shows that more traditional music was still predominant up to the Civil War period.<sup>32</sup> In 1654 Clarendon accompanied the exiled Charles II to Dusseldorf, where, according to Clarendon, the King heard:

several sorts of music, both of instruments and voices, which if not excellent was new, and differed much from what his majesty was accustomed to hear.<sup>33</sup>

The English party was entertained by Phillip Wilhelm, Duke of Neuburg, successor to Johann Wilhelm (d.1653) who had employed Gilles Hayne as Kapellmeister. The 'new' music was probably in the modern Italian style cultivated by Hayne and did indeed differ from what Clarendon had been used to hearing in England.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER X

1. For Locke's biography see Lefkowitz, 'Locke, Matthew', Grove xi, 108-110; Harding, A Thematic Catalogue, xxiii-xxix. For Jeffreys, see Ch. VI above.
2. See Matthew Locke, Chamber Music and Dramatic Music; some of the sacred music is in Matthew Locke, Anthems and Motets (ed. P. le Huray), London 1976 (Musica Britannica xxxviii). See also Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons, Cupid and Death (ed. E.J. Dent), London 1951, 2/1965 (Musica Britannica ii).
3. Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue, i, 291, 430.
4. Lefkowitz, Grove xi, 113.
5. RISM vii, 287.
6. Ibid., 267.
7. Unattributed entry, 'Costanzo da Cosenza, Francesco', Grove iv, 823; RISM ii, 236.
8. Lacombe, 'Filigranes de l'Angoumois'.
9. Harding, A Thematic Catalogue, xxvii.
10. Matthew Locke, The Present Practice of Music Vindicated, London 1673, 19.
11. Nicolai, Histoire, i, 14-18, ii, 100 and plate CXXVII.
12. See Aloys Hiff, Catalogue of Printed Music published prior to 1801 now in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, Oxford 1919.

13. Denis Arnold, 'Alessandro Grandi, a Disciple of Monteverdi', MQ xliii (1957), 171; Monteverdi, London 1963: Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (eds), The Monteverdi Companion, London 1968, 124-7; Jerome Roche, 'Music at S. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo', ML xlvii (1966), 296, especially 306-9; RISM iii, 320-3.
14. RISM vii, 331.
15. See Andrew V. Jones, The Motets of Carissimi, Ann Arbor 1982, ii,9.
16. Denis Arnold, 'Pecci, Desiderio', Grove xiv, 323. The printed sacred music is not mentioned here, but a three-voice 'Sub tuum praesidium' in Cfm 179 is listed; see also RISM vi, 425.
17. RISM iv, 427.
18. Jones, op. cit., 1-26.
19. Antoine Auda, La musique et les musiciens de l'ancien Pays de Liège, Liège 1930, 158-60; W. Nagel, 'Gilles Heine', Monatsheften für Musikgeschichte, 1896; offprint in British Library 10603 d. 17.
20. Pamela J. Willetts, 'A Neglected Source of Monody and Madrigal', ML xliii (1962), 329; 'Autographs of Angelo Notari', ML l (1969), 124.
21. See Crum, 'The Consort Music'.
22. These sources have ten staves, 13 mm. x 149 mm., ruled with a five-stave rastrum measuring 118.5 mm.; over ten staves the measurement is 253.5 mm. Their string parts have marks XXII c and d.



23. See VDGS index 'Pavans a 6' and 'Fancies of six parts to the organ' (which includes the In Nomines), Chelys 1 (1970), 51-2.
24. Coxon, 'A Handlist', 85.
25. Crum, 'The Consort Music', 9-10.
26. C.G. and S.F. Rayner, 'Christopher Gibbons'; a facsimile of Gibbons' signature on p.159 confirms that Mus.Sch. c.53 is his autograph.
27. A folio organ book in the North collection, Ob MS Mus.Sch. c.98a, has a peacock watermark which appears, from the distribution of chain lines, to be possibly identical with one in Add.30829-30 and 17816, though it is impossible to be certain. In Mus.Sch. c.85, pot paper in the lra and five-pointed foolscap in the harpsichord part suggest that paper ruled with six-line staves had a longer 'shelf-life' than the normal variety. The final folios of the string parts in c.98b have the same paper and ruling as e.407-9 (1654), but even if c.98 a & b were copied in the 1650s and the peacock marks are in fact identical, the differently ruled Jeffreys parts could still date from before 1648 as internal evidence suggests.
28. This Peter Pett entertained the violinist Davis Mell at Oxford in 1657: see A.Clark (ed) Life

and Times, i, 241-2; Hawkins, A General History (1875), ii, 681. See also Wood, Athenae (1820); Fasti ii (in vol. iv), 109; Foster, The Register, 285.

29. John Playford, A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Music, London 1664. This also contains, pp. 57-75, 'A brief discourse of and directions for Singing after the Italian manner: Wherein is set down those excellent graces in Singing now used by the Italians ...'. The 'directions' are in fact translated from Caccini's Le nuove musiche (1601/2): for an example Playford used Brewer's 'O that mine eyes', textless and anonymous. See Ian Spink, 'Brewer, Thomas', Grove ii, 273.
30. Further evidence of Jeffreys' interest in Italianate music is provided by Ochs 878-880, an incomplete set of parts from the collection of Henry Aldrich. These contain two flyleaf comments: in 879, 'A collection of songs by Jefferies late Organist of Christ Church' and in 880, 'Mr Jeffreys' Collection of Songs'. These comments apply only to folios 1-43 of 880 and the corresponding sections of the other books, but 'Mr Jeffreys' Collection' apparently included a great deal of music by Richard Dering (c.1580-1630), identifiable from his posthumous Cantiones Sacrae of 1662 and 1674; a few more sacred pieces; and

a series of Italian secular songs. The annotations, but not the music, are in Aldrich's hand: see Willetts, 'John Lilly', 311. Fourteen Dering works are ascribed to Jeffreys in Lcm 660 because they were 'transcribed from Dean Aldrich's collection at Christ Church': see Barclay Squire, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Royal College of Music, i, 112-3. Dering studied in Italy and adopted a progressive style: Jeffreys' interest in his work is not surprising.

31. Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era, 199.
32. Ibid.
33. Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion, v, 359-60.

## CHAPTER XI

## SOME EARLY ENGLISH SOURCES OF ITALIAN SONATAS

After the Restoration a great deal of early seventeenth-century music remained in circulation in England while other English and Continental material was gradually added to it. A major influence deserving separate consideration is the Italian trio sonata, important not only because it was to become universally accepted as the principal form of chamber music, as the polyphonic fantasia had been in the early seventeenth century, but also because the Italian style of the 1660s and 1670s was one of the many elements absorbed into the style of England's greatest Baroque composer, Henry Purcell.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to consider what Italian instrumental music might have been available to him before he published his own Sonatas of Three Parts in 1683.<sup>2</sup>

In the dedication 'to the reader' of these sonatas Purcell claims that they are related to the Italian style:

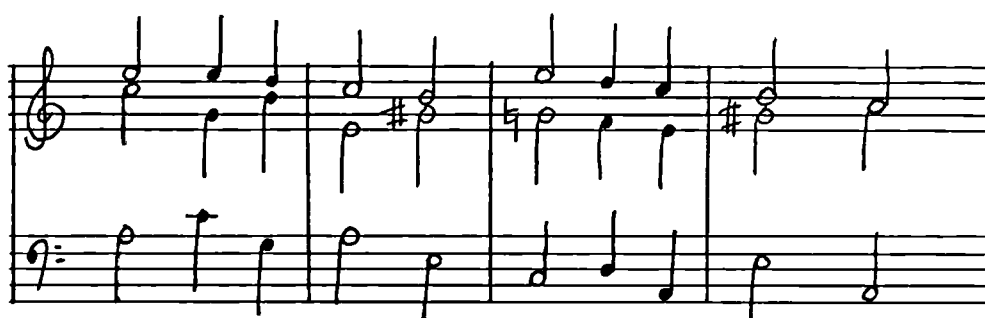
...for its Author, he has faithfully endeavour'd  
a just imitation of the most fam'd Italian masters:  
principally to bring the Seriousness and gravity of  
that sort of Musick into vogue, and reputation among  
our country-men, whose humor, 'tis time now, should  
begin to loath the levity and balladry of our neighbours ...

Whether Purcell or Playford wrote this preface, to claim that the sonatas were Italian in style was evidently regarded as a

good advertisement' for them. Prospective purchasers, and those who had already subscribed, were apparently expected to know what Italian music was like, and generally to approve of it.

Further evidence of Purcell's own approval comes from his contribution to Playford's An Introduction to the Skill of Music, 1694,<sup>3</sup> where he alters the following example of three-part writing from Simpson's Compendium of Practical Music to a modernised version of his own.<sup>4</sup> Purcell's commentary is most illuminating:

Playford, Introduction, 1694, p.115



Now in my opinion the alt or second part should move gradually in thirds with the treble, though the other be fuller, this is the smoothest and carries more air and form in it, and I'm sure 'tis the constant practice of the Italians in all their music, either vocal or instrumental, which I presume ought to be a guide to us; the way I would have it is thus ...

[overleaf]

p.116



Purcell's contribution to the Introduction seems mainly to be confined to the third book, pages 85-144: 'A brief introduction to the art of descant or composing music in parts'. This section appears to have been newly written by Purcell, but amongst the many musical examples is one, apart from the Simpson, that he did not compose himself, an example of 'double descant' from a sonata by Colista (see overleaf).<sup>5</sup> Purcell's comment is 'of this sort there are some fugues used by several authors in sonatas: a short one I shall insert here of the famous Lelio Calista, an Italian'. One reason for the inclusion of the Colista example could have been the brevity of its subject, which enables Purcell to illustrate his point in five bars. But even if Purcell could not have supplied an equally concise example from his own existing works he could easily have devised one, and his quotation of Colista together with the description of him as 'famous' suggests that Purcell held Colista in especially high regard. Colista excelled in the composition of contrapuntal allegros, with the bass fully involved in the imitation, which, like Purcell, he

often entitled 'Canzona': Helene Wessely-Kropik has pointed out several close thematic similarities between Colista's sonatas and Purcell's own.<sup>6</sup>



Playford, Introduction,  
1694, p.124

Purcell's interest in and familiarity with Italian music is evident from his own compositions. But source material providing concrete evidence of the Italian instrumental repertory he might have known has been lacking for two reasons: an insufficient interest in the Italian content of Lbl Add.31431 and the implications of its repertory,<sup>7</sup> and the assumption that two other sources, Ob MSS Mus.Sch. e.400-403 ('early 18th century')<sup>8</sup> and Lbl Add.33236 ('late 17th century'),<sup>9</sup> were copied some fifteen to twenty years later than need necessarily have been the case.



**British Library' Additional MS 31431: Italian Sonatas  
(Watermark XXXVIII)**

This incomplete set of partbooks, which in 1680 belonged to Sir Gabriel Roberts, contains a large and varied repertory of English music including Lawes' Royal Consort (see Ch. IX above). It also contains a series of twenty-two anonymous Italian sonatas, numbered 146-168, and four other items, nos. 91-94, ascribed to Cazzati, which are in fact two of his Op.18 sonatas with the long opening sections given a different number from the rest of the work. One of these is duplicated in the series of twenty-two, where several other works prove to be by Cazzati and further sonatas by G.B. Vitali, Legrenzi and Colista. The Italian contents of Add.31431 are set out in Table I below.

Maurizio Cazzati<sup>10</sup> (c.1620-1677) published his Sonate a due violine, Op.18, in Bologna in 1656;<sup>11</sup> it is his only work devoted entirely to trio sonate da chiesa and contains most of his published work in this form. In 1657 he became maestro di capella at San Petronio, Bologna, the first of a distinguished series of sonata composers to be employed there. His pupil Giovanni Battista Vitali (1644-92) was a member of the orchestra at San Petronio until 1674,<sup>12</sup> and his Sonate a due violini, Op. 2 and Sonate a due, tre, quattro e cinque stromenti, Op.5, were published at Bologna in 1667 and 1669 respectively.<sup>13</sup> A later work, Sonate da chiesa a due violini, Op.9, Amsterdam 1684, is almost complete in an English manuscript copy, Lbl Add.31436 folios 150-210, combined with most of Marino Silvano's Scelta della Suonate, Bologna 1680,<sup>14</sup> the first known printed anthology

of Italian sonatas. Giovanni Legrenzi (1626-1690) worked at Bergamo and Ferrara before moving to Venice,<sup>15</sup> where his Sonate a due e tre, Op.2, had been published in 1655.<sup>16</sup> The only identifiable Italian composer in Add.31431 not to have issued significant printed collections during his lifetime is Lelio Colista (1629-1680),<sup>17</sup> who worked entirely in Rome; he is, however, exceptionally well represented in English manuscript copies (see below).<sup>18</sup>

Add.31431 contains by no means all of the eligible sonatas from the four identified printed sources. By chance or by design a process of selection was carried out, and it is quite possible that the twenty-two sonatas were chosen by Gabriel Roberts himself from his own earlier sets of printed or manuscript parts. In 1680 he was about fifty years old and would have had time as well as opportunity, through his trading interests in the Mediterranean, to build up a substantial collection of Italian music. It is far more likely that a considerable amount of music by Cazzati, Colista, Legrenzi and Vitali was already in circulation in London than that the sonatas in Add.31431 represent the total Italian repertory then available.

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## TABLE I

## British Library Additional MS 31431: Italian Sonatas

## Modern Editions

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| Bonta | Giovanni Legrenzi, <u>Sonate a due e tre</u> , Op.2 (ed. Stephen Bonta), Cambridge Mass. 1984 |
|-------|---|

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| <u>HAM</u> | A.T. Davison and W. Apel (eds), <u>Historical Anthology of Music</u> , ii, Cambridge Mass. 1950 |
|------------|---|

## Other references

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| Wessely-Kropik 1961 | H. Wessely-Kropik, <u>Lelio Colista, ein Römischer Meister vor Corelli: Leben und Umwelt</u> , Vienna 1961; catalogue and list of concordances 113-118. |
|---------------------|---|

Composer and printed source      Modern editions, references  
and comments

91/92      *Allergo*      Cazzati Op.18 no.12:  
'La Strozza'

Handwritten musical notation for 'La Strozza' in treble clef, 4/4 time. The tempo marking 'Allergo' is written above the staff. The notation consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some beamed together.

93/94      *Largo*      Cazzati Op.18 no.9:  
'La Martinenga'

Handwritten musical notation for 'La Martinenga' in treble clef, 4/4 time. The tempo marking 'Largo' is written above the staff. The notation consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some beamed together.

See no.5 below

'22 Italian Sonatas'

1

Handwritten musical notation for '22 Italian Sonatas' in treble clef, 4/4 time. The notation consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some beamed together.

HAM 245

2 Vitali Op.5:  
'La Graziani'

3 *Adagio* Cazzati Op.18 no.8:  
'La Consola'

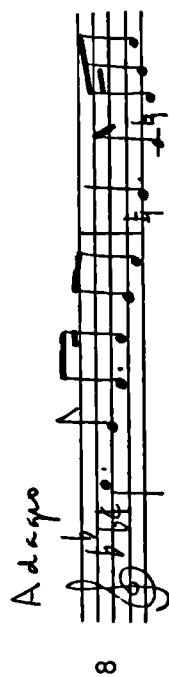
4 *Adagio* Cazzati Op.18 no.7:  
'La Rossella'

5 *Largo* Cazzati Op.18 no.9:  
'La Martinenga'

6 *Allegro* Cazzati Op.18 no.6:  
'La Bulgarina'

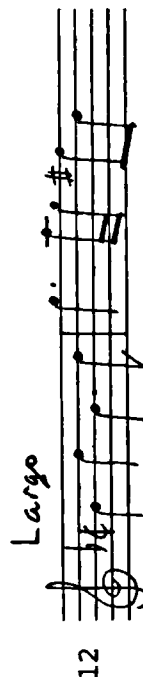
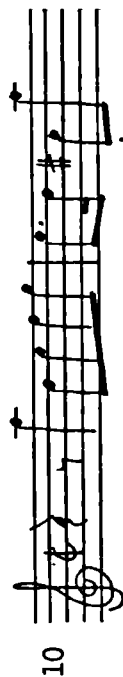
7 *Largo* Cazzati Op.18 no.4:  
'La Calcagnina'

See 93/94 above

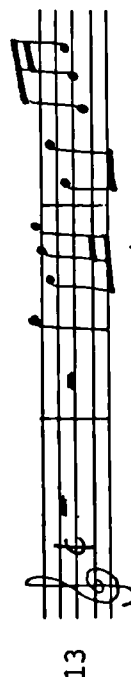


Wessely-Kropik 1961;  
see Add.33236, Colista sonata 8

Colista



Cazzati Op.18 no.2:  
'La Varana'



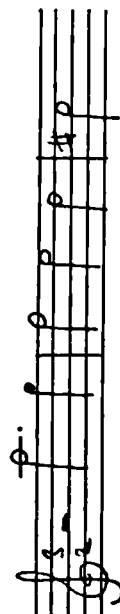
Legrenzi Op.2 no.16:  
'La Marina'

Bonta 1984

Wessely-Kropik 1961

Colista

# Adagio



14

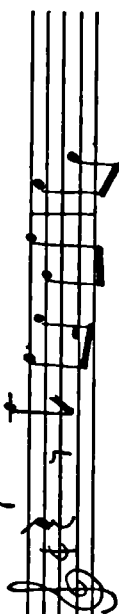
Vivace



Vitali Op.2 no.4

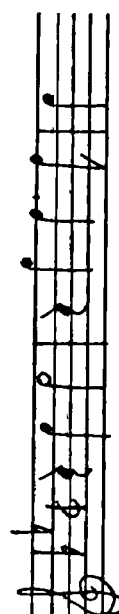
15

Largo



Vitali Op.5 no.3:  
'La Masdoni'

16

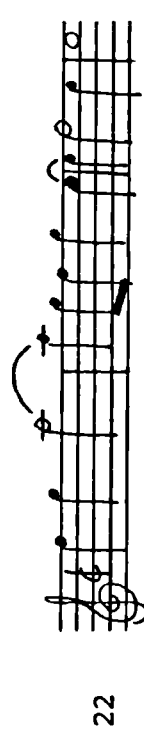
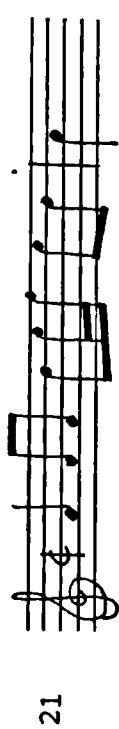
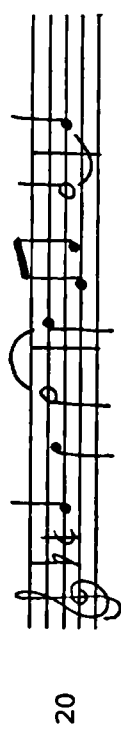
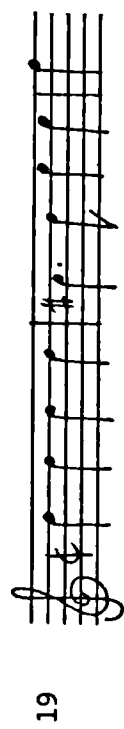


Vitali Op. 2 no. 8

17



18





# **British Library Additional Manuscript 33236**

(Watermark LI)

British Library Add. MS 33236 is a further example, this time in score, of an extensive English source of Italian chamber music. As well as sonatas by Corelli (Op.1), Colista and other Italians, it contains a considerable quantity of English music including some early works of Purcell. Its final folios contain some Purcell songs published between 1687 and 1692. The complete contents of the score are set out in Table II overleaf.

It is strange that a source including almost all of the 'English' Colista repertory (see below) and Corelli's Op.1 (1681) should contain no instrumental music by Purcell except his three-part fantasias and the even earlier fantasias or pavaues for two trebles and bass; Thurston Dart suggested that Add.33236 was a copy in a different hand of a score made by Purcell himself in which he collected music he wished to study and entered a few early compositions of his own.<sup>19</sup> The Corelli, with the note 'scored from the printed copy' (f.30v) could have been added by the later copyist. There is clearly no way of proving whether or not the bulk of the instrumental repertory in Add.33236 was collected by Purcell, but the anonymous compiler had some reason to combine the Colista sonatas with music by Purcell apparently composed before 1680, and the watermark suggests that the copying could have started in the late 1670s. Add.33236 need not be a copy of an earlier score, but could have been compiled by a musician close to Purcell who wished to include some of Purcell's early music in a varied collection resembling Gabriel Roberts'

Add.31431.

## Table II

## Add.33236: contents

## Folios

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| 3-11r   | Locke: <u>Consort for several friends</u> <sup>20</sup>                                   |
| 11v-12v | Laniere: 'Nor com'st thou yet' <sup>21</sup>  |
| 13-30r  | Colista: ten church sonatas   |
| 30v-50r | Corelli: Op.1 <sup>22</sup>   |
| 50v-52r | Carolo Ruggiero: sonata   |
| 52r-53  | Colista: sonata   |
| 53v-54v | John Blow: sonata <sup>23</sup>   |
| 55-56   | Anon: sonata <sup>24</sup>  |
| 56v-59v | Corelli (attrib): two sonatas <sup>25</sup>   |
| 60-61   | Purcell: four fantasias or pavaues in three parts,<br>two trebles and bass. <sup>26</sup> |
| 61-62v  | 'Mons. Baptiste': sonata  |
| 63      | Locke: <u>Little Consort</u> ; three movements only. <sup>27</sup>                        |
| 63v-64  | Blow: ground in G minor for two violins and bass.   |
| 64v     | Blow: symphony for flutes <sup>28</sup>   |
| 65      | Purcell: chaconne in G minor [fragment] <sup>29</sup>                                     |
| 65v-67  | Purcell: three fantasias in three parts [the<br>first fragmentary] <sup>30</sup>          |
| 67v-69v | Purcell: 'You say 'tis love' <sup>31</sup>  |
| 70-70v  | Purcell: 'With sick and famished eyes' <sup>32</sup>                                      |
| 71      | Purcell: 'How long, great God' <sup>33</sup> [a different<br>hand from here on]           |
| 71v-72v | Purcell: 'O solitude' <sup>34</sup>   |
| 72v-73v | Purcell: 'Fly swift ye hours' <sup>35</sup>   |

The watermark pair of the source, a bend on a shield countermarked ET, is consistent throughout, but there are three different types of ruling, showing that, like Locke's Add.17801, this was a score divided into sections for different kinds of music. The three rulings are now distributed thus:

Table III

| Ruling   | Folios      |
|--|-------------|
| a. 14 staves, ruled in pairs: 13 mm. x 245 mm.<br>Two-stave rastrum of 36 mm.    | 3-12; 70-73 |
| b. 16 staves, ruled in fours: 11 mm. x 246 mm.<br>Four-stave rastrum of 85 mm.   | 13-59       |
| c. 15 staves, ruled in threes: 12 mm. x 246 mm.<br>Three-stave rastrum of 60 mm. | 60-69       |

Each folio has been mounted individually, so the original quiring is no longer apparent. The watermarks at the beginning of the volume confirm that folios 70-73 have been moved from their original position. Folios 3-10 clearly form a gathering of four bifolia, all ruled with pairs of staves for two-part music. For the ruling to change in the course of a gathering, as it appears to do at f.13, and for the countermark sides of folios 11 and 12, whether these are 13 and 14 or later folia, to be ruled differently from the watermark sides, would be most unusual. The mystery is solved by folios 70-73, which revert to the 'a' ruling (see Table IV overleaf).

Table IV

Add.33236 folios 3-14 and 70-73: distribution of watermarks

| Folio | Ruling | Mark |
|-------|--------|------|
| 3     | a      | Bend |
| 4     | a      | Bend |
| 5     | a      | Bend |
| 6     | a      | Bend |
| 7     | a      | ET   |
| 8     | a      | ET   |
| 9     | a      | ET   |
| 10    | a      | ET   |
| 11    | a      | Bend |
| 12    | a      | Bend |
| 13    | b      | ET   |
| 14    | b      | ET   |
| 70    | a      | ET   |
| 71    | a      | Bend |
| 72    | a      | ET   |
| 73    | a      | ET   |

The countermark sides of folios 11 and 12 are thus 72 and 73;  
70 and 71 are a bifolium, and the three sheets formed a six-folio  
gathering. The original layout of the score provided for two-  
part music in the initial fourteen folios, now 3-12 and 70-73;

for three-part music, which probably came next, in the present folios 60-69, and for trio sonatas with independent string bass and basso continuo in folios 13-59. There is evidence that some three-part music has been lost, because after the third Little Consort movement on f.63 a firmly-written note reads 'Turn over ...to'. But there is no more of the Little Consort in the score, and a later owner has added in pencil 'I know not where'. If the score was ruled and bound c.1680 or slightly earlier, the ample provision made for music requiring four staves is worthy of note: the first music included in this section is the Colista series, and it was clearly anticipated that more sonatas of the same kind would be added later.

The consistency of watermark and systematic arrangement of different rulings make it almost certain that Add.33236 was purchased from a stationer as a bound volume. Its date must therefore be assessed from its watermark and earliest contents, not the latest music to be composed. The main part of the repertory in Add.33236 would have been available in or before 1683, the date of the 'Symphony for flutes' ascribed to Blow but in fact by Purcell, and the watermark by no means precludes the first stage of copying having taken place in that year. But the watermark could equally well date from 1680 or a little earlier, so the pre-1683 repertory should be further subdivided into material that could have been copied before 1681 and that which could not. Table V overleaf suggests a possible chronology.

Table V

## Add.33236: chronology

| Phase of copying | Suggested date                                | Music copied  |
|------------------|---|---|
| 1a               | Certainly before<br>c.1683; perhaps<br>c.1680 | Locke: <u>Consort for several friends</u> , folios 3-11;<br>Laniere: 'Nor com'st thou'<br>11v-12v. Purcell: fantasias or pavaues, 60-61;<br>'Mons.Baptiste': sonata,<br>61-62v; Locke: <u>Little Consort</u> , 63. Colista: ten<br>sonatas, 13-30 |
| 1b               | c.1681-83                                     | Blow: ground in G minor,<br>63v-64; 'Blow': symphony,<br>64v; Purcell: chaconne,<br>65, fantasias 65v-67;<br>Corelli: Op.1, 30v-50;<br>sonatas, 50v-59v   |
| 2                | After 1683                                    | Purcell: songs from f.<br>67v onwards   |

If the watermark evidence is consistent with that of the repertory there is no reason why Add.33236 should not be dated c.1683 or slightly earlier rather than 'late 17th century'. The watermark evidence not only permits but demands such an interpretation.

The watermark of Add.33236 (LI) is a bend on a shield with a fleur-de-lys crest and the initials

of Abraham Janssen beneath, countermarked ET. These features strongly suggest that the paper was purchased between 1679 and 1682. Abraham Janssen's involvement in the Angoumois paper trade, evident in the use of his personal mark from 1679 onwards, has already been discussed. Paper with Janssen's initials, or indeed any Angoumois paper, is unlikely to have been used in England after c.1690, when the effects of the Nine Years' War and of Dutch competition in the paper trade began to be apparent. The ET countermark, probably representing Étienne Touzeau, occurs in none of Heawood's examples later than 1683, others being dated 1680 and 1676.<sup>36</sup> The paper of Purcell's score Add.30930 also has the ET countermark, and is dated 1680. The combined evidence of watermark and content is therefore that the copying of Add. 33236 began no later than 1683.

There can be no final proof that the greater part of the music in the score had been copied by 1683, but it is more likely that the purchaser of such an expensive volume intended to use it in the relatively near future than that it remained unused for a long time. The position of the Colista at the beginning of the four-stave section suggests that these works belong to the earliest stage of copying, and the Corelli could well have followed soon afterwards. The note in the copyist's hand on f.30v, 'Scored from the printed copy', provides strong evidence that the prints of Corelli's Op.1 had reached England in the 1680s, possibly not long after they were published.

Two further aspects of Add.33236 remain to be discussed: its relationship to what may be called the 'English' Colista

repertory, and the series of sonatas by various composers found between folios 50 and 59v, which appears in a more complete version in two other sources, Ob MSS Mus.Sch. d.254 and e.400-403.

Four English manuscript sources contain a substantial number of Colista church sonatas:<sup>37</sup> Add.33236, Ob MSS Mus.Sch d.256 and e.400-403, and Och 1126. The last of these contains nine sonatas but has only three concordances with the other main English sources, which seem to form a related group. The Colista sonata included in Silvano's Scielta della Suonate, Bologna 1680, appears in Lbl Add.31436 with most of the rest of that anthology, and two other sonatas, one in the related English group and one not, are in Lbl Add.31431. The distribution of the sonatas in the three apparently related sources is shown in Table VI overleaf.

Mus.Sch. d.256 was copied by the distinguished English amateur James Sherard (1666-1738), who published church sonatas of his own in 1701 and c.1711.<sup>38</sup> He also made a copy of Corelli's Op.2, now Mus.Sch. d.255. His Colista parts, which contain no other music, consist of four books in upright quarto watermarked with a fleur-de-lys and the monogram of Peter van der Ley, showing that the paper is of Dutch manufacture and unlikely to have been used in an English music source before c.1688. It is significant that the upright quarto format, which enables larger and heavier paper to be used for books of the normal foolscap folio size, disappeared from English music manuscripts about 1660, when Angoumois paper came into general use, and reappeared when the



main source of supply changed from the Angoumois to Holland.  
Mus.Sch. e.400-403, another set of parts, is a much larger source  
which will be discussed below.

Table VI

## Related English sources of Colista sonatas

| Add.33236<br>position | Ob MS Mus.<br>Sch. d.256 | Ob MSS Mus.<br>Sch. e.400-3 | Wessely-Kropik<br>catalogue no. |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1                     | 1                        | 1                           | 34                              |
| 2                     | 2                        | 4                           | 22                              |
| 3                     | 3                        | 7                           | 23                              |
| 4                     | 4                        | 3                           | 20                              |
| 5                     | 5                        | 6                           | 11                              |
| 6                     | 6                        | 5                           | 35                              |
| 7                     | 8                        | -                           | 15                              |
| 8                     | 7                        | -                           | 10                              |
| 9                     | 9                        | 8                           | 36                              |
| 10                    | 10                       | 2                           | 33                              |
| 11                    | -                        | 9                           | 16                              |

Five of the sonatas in Add.33236 between folios 50v and 59v are  
found as part of an anthology of twelve in two other sources,  
Ob MSS Mus.Sch. d.254 and e.400-403. A thematic index and list  
of concordances is given in Table VII below.

Carolo Ruggiero is unknown apart from the present group  
of sources. A composer called Giovanni Maria Ruggieri published

two sets of church sonatas in Venice in 1693 and 1697, but the sonata in the manuscript sources does not belong to them and its composer is presumably a different man.<sup>39</sup> The two Oxford sources also contain three sonatas from Purcell's 1697 set, much more closely related to the autograph score Add.30930 than to the printed version, though unlikely to have been copied directly from the autograph.<sup>40</sup> The first sonata of the 1697 print appears in both these sources transposed into A minor, and it is possible that the versions in the Bodleian manuscripts represent an intermediate stage through which the sonatas passed between 1680 and 1697.<sup>41</sup>

## TABLE VII

## Ob MS Mus.Sch. d.254: anthology of sonatas

## Printed sources

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| Purcell 1697 | Henry Purcell, <u>Ten Sonata's in Four Parts, Compos'd by the Late Mr Henry Purcell</u> , London 1697                                    |
| Roger 1714   | Archangelo Corelli (asc.), <u>Sonate a tre, due violini col basso per l'organo</u> , ouvrage posthume, Amsterdam, Estienne Roger, [1714] |

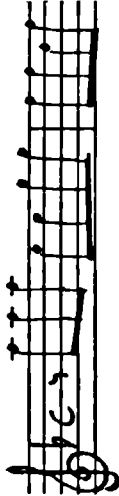
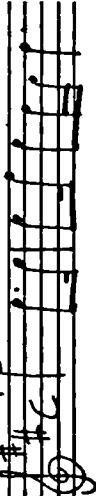
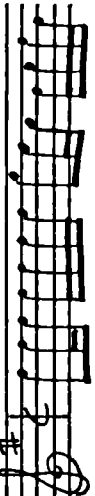

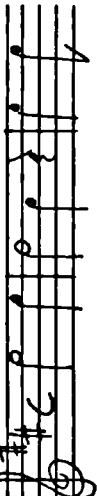
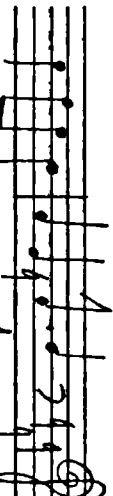
## Other sources

Complete lists of sources for the works by Purcell can be found in Ten Sonatas (ed. M. Tilmouth), Borough Green 1981; for the works ascribed to Corelli in Marx, Catalogue.

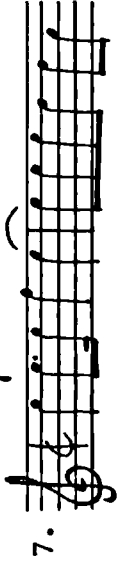
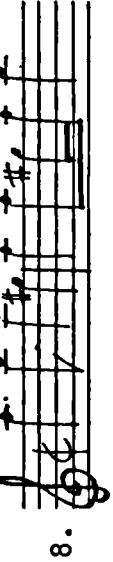

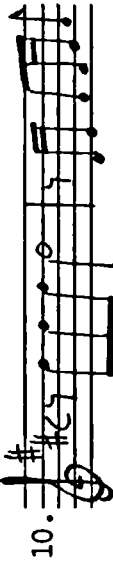

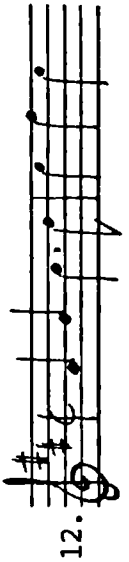
## Modern editions

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| Blow    | <u>Deux sonatas pour deux violons, viole de gambe et basse</u> (ed. W. Gillies Whittaker), Paris 1934; also contains no.3. |
| Corelli | <u>Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke</u> , v (ed. H.J. Marx), 51-57.                              |



| Ascription and<br>printed source   | e.400<br>page | Add.33236<br>folio | Other sources                    | Modern editions                        | References  |
|--|---------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|--|-------------|
| <p><i>Vivace</i></p> <p>1. </p> <p>Carolo Ruggiero</p>            | 74-75         | 50v-52             |                                  |  |             |
| <p><i>Largo</i></p> <p>2. </p> <p>Blow</p>                        | 76-77         | 53v-54v            | Lk 20.h.9<br>f.105-108           | ed. G.Whittaker<br>Paris 1934          |             |
| <p><i>Presto</i></p> <p>3. </p>                                   | 78-79         | 55-56              |                                  | "                                      |             |
| <p><i>Vivace</i></p> <p>4. </p> <p>Corelli</p>                   | 80-81         | 56v-58v            | ChU Cod.MS<br>#959;<br>'Calista' |  | Marx 237-8  |
| <p><i>Grave</i></p> <p>5. </p> <p>Corelli<br/>Roger 1714, 6</p> | 82-83         | 58-59v             | See Marx                         | Gesamtausgabe,<br>v, 51-7              | Marx 218-20 |
| <p><i>Adagio</i> *</p> <p>6. </p> <p>Purcell<br/>1697 no.2</p>  | 84-85         |                    | Add.30930<br>f.43v               | ed. Tilmouth,<br>Borough Green<br>1981 | 456         |

\* Grave in d. 254 violon I (f 25v)

| Ascription and printed source  | e.400 page | Add.33236 folio | Other sources                      | Modern editions                       | References |
|--|------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|
| <p>7. <i>Adagio</i></p>  <p>Purcell<br/>1697 no.1</p> | 86-87      |                 | Add.30930<br>f.41v                 | ed. Tilmouth<br>Borough Green<br>1981 |            |
| <p>8. <i>Grave</i></p>  <p>Purcell<br/>1697 no.3</p>  | 88-89      |                 | Add.30930<br>f.39v                 | "                                     |            |
| <p>9.</p>   | 92-3       |                 |                                    |                                       |            |
| <p>10.</p>    | 40-41      |                 | ChiU Cod.MS<br># 959;<br>'Corelli' | Marx 239-40                           |            |
| <p>11. <i>Allegro</i></p>                           | 46-47      |                 |                                    |                                       |            |
| <p>12.</p>    | -          |                 |                                    |                                       |            |

## Bodleian Library MSS Mus.Sch. e.400-403

(Watermark XLIII)

The final source to be considered in this chapter, Bodleian Library MSS Mus.Sch. e.400-403, is a set of parts containing sixty-one sonatas, forming a repertory in many ways similar to that of Add.33236. Like the London source it contains a series of sonatas by Colista followed by Corelli's Op.1, and the complete anthology (see Table VII above) found in Ob MS Mus.Sch. d.254, five of which also appear in Add.33236.

## Table VIII

## Bodleian Library MSS Mus.Sch. e.400-403: contents

e.400 page

|         |   |  |
|---------|---|--|
| 3-19    | Colista: nine sonatas<br>(see Table VI above) | pp.1 & 2 lacking in this<br>part; p.19: 'hier endeth<br>Lelli Colista his sonates' |
| 20-45   | Corelli: Op.1                                 |  |
| 46-49   | Matteis: two sonats                           |  |
| 50-73   | Corelli: Op.2 <sup>42</sup>                   | p.51: 'hrr beguneth Corelli<br>his last sonates in 1685'                           |
| 74-97   | Anthology of twelve<br>sonatas                |  |
| 98-121  | Bassani: Op.5                                 |  |
| 122-123 | Anon: 'Sonata 1'                              | Incomplete; blank pages<br>in e.401-2.   |
| 124-125 | Antonio Biffi: sonata                         |  |
| 126-127 | Exercises for the<br>violin                   |  |
| 128     |   | Unused   |

Apart from the sonàta by Biffi (1666/7-1733) and the three Purcell sonatas in the anthology, all of the identifiable music was available in print by the mid-1680s. Corelli's Op.1 was published in 1681 and Op.2 in 1685; Op.3 and Op.4 followed in 1689 and 1694, which has a bearing on the statement on p.51 of e.400: 'hir begineth Corelli his last sonatas in 1685'. Bassani's Sinfonie a due e tre instrumenti, Op.5,<sup>43</sup> were published in Bologna in 1683, with further editions in 1688, 1691 and c.1710, and Matteis was at work in London by the late 1670s. The references to 'Corelli his last sonatas' on e.400 p.51 and elsewhere suggest that his Op.2 was copied here before Op.3 became available, between 1685 and 1689. The theory that Italian printed parts of Corelli did not reach England for some years, apparently put forward by Hawkins,<sup>44</sup> seems inconsistent with the ability of John Walsh to advertise Corelli's Op.5, not published in Rome until 1700, in July of the same year;<sup>45</sup> trio sonata copies could have made their way to England by sea until trade with the Mediterranean was disrupted by the Nine Years' War (1688-97) and by land after that. A verse by T. Brown, addressed to Purcell and prefaced to the second book of Harmonia Sacra (1693)<sup>46</sup> contains this couplet:

In thy productions we with wonder find  
Bassani's genius to Corelli's joined

which implies that both Corelli and Bassani by then enjoyed a considerable reputation in England.

Two types of watermark appear in Mus.Sch. e.400-403: in



e.400 a bend on a shield with Abraham Janssen's initials beneath, and in the other parts a fleur-de-lys with the factor's mark HC beneath, countermarked IP. As the pages are all written, only the lower part of this mark is illustrated (XLIII), but it is clear that the factor's mark HC is of the same pattern as the one in Lbl Add.29283-5 (1682) and in fifteen examples in Heawood, some read as HG, all but one of which are dated 1676-1686;<sup>47</sup> the isolated exception was used in 1690.<sup>48</sup> Heawood's example of the same watermark and countermark combination as in this source is dated 1683.<sup>49</sup>

The watermark therefore suggests that a date in the mid-1680s is most likely for e.400-403, an earlier commencement with the Colista and Corelli's Op.1 being by no means ruled out. The Biffi and the anonymous sonata could be later additions, but the anthology of twelve sonatas (e.400 pp.74-97) contains a version of three Purcell sonatas more closely related to the 1680 autograph than the 1697 print,<sup>50</sup> and Bassani's Op.5 was first published in 1683. Thus the greater part of the content of these books is consistent with the watermark evidence that they were commenced in the mid-1680s.

The three sources described in this chapter contain between them more than eighty Italian or Italianate sonatas. Twenty-five of them were in print by 1682, in many cases as part of larger collections not duplicated in the manuscripts; a further twenty-four had been published by 1685.

Lbl Add.31431 is dated 1680. Watermark evidence suggests that Add.33236 was commenced no later than 1683 and Mus.Sch. e.400-403 no later than 1686, with a distinct possibility in

either case that the first stage of copying might have been carried out some years earlier. If so, Corelli's Op.1 'scored from the printed copy' in Add.33236 might have been copied there before Purcell published his Sonnata's of III Parts in 1683 and music by Corelli could be added to the already substantial repertory by Cazzati, Vitali, Legrenzi and Colista evidently available in England at that time. The differences between Purcell's sonatas and those of the Italians cannot, therefore, be attributed to his limited acquaintance with Italian music, but rather to a deliberate combination of English and Italian idioms to form his own individual style.<sup>51</sup> English musical amateurs, whose catholic tastes are reflected in the varied contents of their partbooks,<sup>52</sup> must have found Purcell's sonatas entirely to their liking.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

1. See Helene Wessely-Kropik, 'Henry Purcell als Instrumentalkomponist', Studien zur Musikwissenschaft xxii (1955), 85-141; Michael Tilmouth, 'The Technique and Form of Purcell's Sonatas', ML xl (1959), 109; Thurston Dart, 'Purcell's Chamber Music', PRMA lxxxv (1958-9), 81-93.
2. Henry Purcell, Sonnata's of III Parts, London 1683; modern eds: Twelve Sonatas of three Parts (ed. M. Tilmouth), London 1976 (Purcell Society v); Sonatas of Three Parts (ed. R. Fiske), London 1975.
3. See John Playford, Introduction to the Skill of MusiC, 12th. ed., London 1694, R/1972; see also W.B. Squire, 'Purcell as Theorist', SIMG vi (1904-5), 521-527.
4. Christopher Simpson, A Compendium of Practical Music in Five Parts, 2/London 1667; R/Oxford 1970, 28. Purcell transposed the example from G minor to A minor.
5. See Helene Wessely-Kropik, Lelio Colista, ein Römischer Meister vor Corelli: Leben und Umwelt, Vienna 1961; catalogue and list of sources 113-118. The sonata quoted by Purcell is no.20 in the catalogue, in D major.
6. Wessely-Kropik 1955; Tilmouth, 1959.
7. Although Tilmouth (1959) and Roger Fiske (Purcell, Sonatas, 1975; introduction) mention Add.31431, I have not found any detailed discussion of its contents. Fiske (p.III) states: 'Very few Italian trio sonatas had been published by 1683, and there is no evidence that any published examples had as yet reached England, but Italian musicians were

beginning to arrive in London to earn their living and they sometimes brought with them MS trio sonatas by such composers as Vitali; a British Museum MS of such sonatas, Add.31431, is dated 1680'. This obscures the fact that Vitali, Legrenzi and Cazzati had all published sets of trio sonatas well before 1680, some in several editions: fourteen of the twenty-three different sonatas found in Add.31431 had definitely appeared in print.

8. See Purcell, Ten Sonatas (ed. Hogwood), p.V: both Bodleian sources of sonatas 1-3 are described as 'early eighteenth century'. The typescript Revised Descriptions at the Bodleian states that the ascriptions throughout e.400-403 were added by an owner c.1700 but does not venture a date for the earliest layer of music copying. Tilmouth, in Purcell, Ten Sonatas of Four Parts, xxi, also describes e.400-403 as 'early eighteenth century', but points out that the three Purcell sonatas the source contains are much more closely related to the autograph Add.30930 than to the 1697 print.
9. Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue, iii, 178, 195. See also O.Edwards, 'The Response to Corelli's Music in 18th Century England', SMN ii (1976), 51-96, where the 'late 17th-century' Add. 33236 is entered in a calendar after the publication of Playford's Second Part of the Division Violin (1693) and an advertisement for 'fairly pricked' copies dated 1695 (p.68).
10. W.S. Newman, The Sonata in the Baroque Era, 3/New York 1972, 134-5.

11. RISM ii, 89.'
12. Newman, The Sonata, 135-8.
13. RISM ix, 128-9.
14. Marino Silvano, Scielta della suonate a due violini con il basso continuo per l'organo. Raccolte da diversi eccellenti Autori ..., Bologna 1680. See Claudio Sartori, Bibliografia della musica strumentale Italiana, Florence 1952, 495 (1680a); RISM Recueils, 562 (1680<sup>7</sup>).
15. Giovanni Legrenzi, Sonate a due e tre, Op.2 (ed. S. Bonta), Cambridge, Mass. 1984, introduction; Newman, op. cit, 128-131.
16. RISM v, 20.
17. See Wessely-Kropik, Lelio Colista.
18. List of sources *ibid.*, 113-18.
19. Dart, 'Purcell's Chamber Music', 93. See also Tilmouth's stemma and discussion in Purcell, Ten Sonatas (1981), xii-xiii.
20. Modern ed. in Locke, Chamber Music, i, 11-56; see also Harding, A Thematic Catalogue, 91-95 and Table 1 (Add.33236 omitted from the list of sources); Field, 'Matthew Locke'; Tilmouth, 'Revisions'.
21. Modern ed. in Ian Spink (ed), English Songs 1625-1660, London 1971 (Musica Britannica xxxiii), 12; see his commentary, 193-4.
22. H.J. Marx, Die Überlieferung der Werke Archangelo Corellis. Catalogue raisonnée von Hans Joachim Marx, Cologne 1980 (Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke, Supplementband), 76-99. See also Newman, The Sonata, 155-9

- passim; Mario Rinaldi, Archangelo Corelli, Milan 1953; Marc Pincherle, Corelli et son temps, Paris 1954; Edwards, 'The Response'.
23. Modern ed. in John Blow, Deux sonates pour deux violons, viole de gambe et basse (ed. W. Gillies Whittaker), Paris 1933. See Newman, The Sonata, 304.
  24. Modern ed. ascribed to Blow in Deux Sonates; see Newman, op. cit., 304.
  25. The second of these sonatas appears as no.6 in Archangelo Corelli (asc.) Sonate a tre, due violini col basso per l'organo, ouvrage posthume, Amsterdam (Estienne Roger) [1714]. See RISM ii, 214; Marx, Catalogue, 218-220; modern ed. in Archangelo Corelli, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke, v, (ed. H.J. Marx), 51-57. For the first sonata ascribed to Corelli in Add.33236, see Marx, Catalogue, 237-8.
  26. Modern ed. in M.Wailes, 'Four Short Fantasias by Henry Purcell', The Score and I.M.A. Magazine, June 1957. See Zimmerman, Henry Purcell, 380-1 (nos. 748-751).
  27. Modern ed. in Locke, Chamber Music, i; see also Harding, A Thematic Catalogue, 95-8 and Table 2.
  28. Not in fact by Blow but from Purcell's 'How pleasant is this flow'ry plain' (c.1683); see Zimmerman, op. cit. no.543/1.
  29. Ibid., no.730.
  30. Modern ed., Henry Purcell, Fantasias and In Nomines (ed. T. Dart), London 1959; Zimmerman op. cit., nos. 732-4.

31. Zimmerman, op.cit. no. 628/35a (King Arthur, 1691). Published 1692 in Philomela, or the Vocal Musitian, being a collection of the best and newest songs especially those in the two operas, the Prophetess and King Arthur..., London 1692. See Day and Murrie, English Song Books, no. 4100.
32. Zimmerman, op. cit., no. 200; pub. Henry Playford, Harmonia Sacra, 1688.
33. Zimmerman, op.cit., no.189; pub. Harmonia Sacra, 1688.
34. Zimmerman, op. cit., no.406; pub. Comes amoris, or the Companion of Love, 1687, and Henry Playford, The Theater of Music, 1687.
35. Zimmerman, op. cit., no.369; pub. Henry Playford, The Banquet of Music, 1692.
36. Heawood 1780, 2031, 2963, 2947.
37. See Wessely-Kropik, Lelio Colista, 113-18.
38. See M. Tilmouth, 'Sherard, James', Grove xvii, 251.
39. G.M. Ruggieri, Suonate da Chiesa a due violini e violone o tiorba, con il suo basso continuo per l'organo..., Op.3, Venice 1693; Suonate da Chiesa a due violini e violoncello, con il suo basso continuo per l'organo..., Op.4, Venice 1697. See RISM vii, 275-6; for a thematic catalogue, see Robert Haas, Die Estensische Musikalien, Regensburg 1927, 62-6.
40. See Henry Purcell, Ten Sonatas (ed. Tilmouth), xxi.
41. Tilmouth (ibid. xii-xiii) suggests that Add.33236, Mus.Sch. e.400-403 and other sources might be descended from a lost score or group of working papers, possibly contemporary with the surviving autograph score Add.30930.

42. Marx, Catalogue, 100-121.
43. Newman, The Sonata, 150-153 passim; Richard Haselbach, Giovanni Battista Bassani, Kassel and Basel 1955, 24-6.
44. Hawkins, A General History (1875), ii, 754-5; 'Unless we suppose [Purcell] had seen them [Corelli's sonatas] in manuscript, it may be questioned whether they ever came to his hands'.
45. William C. Smith, A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the years 1695-1720, London 1948, 13-14.
46. Edwards, 'The Response', 68.
47. Heawood 350, 431, 1653, 2012, 2041, 2043, 2688, 2706, 2780.
48. Heawood 2693.
49. Heawood 1784.
50. See Purcell, Ten Sonatas (ed. Tilmouth), xxi.
51. The relationship between the sonatas and the fantasia style is discussed in Tilmouth, 'The Technique', 109. For Purcell's awareness of Italian style, especially Colista's, see also Wessely-Kropik, 'Henry Purcell'.
52. The three main sources described in this chapter and the others mentioned in passing are by no means all of the English seventeenth-century copies of Italian trio sonatas. Haselbach (op. cit., 26) mentions a manuscript score in the Library of Congress, Washington, containing Bassani's Op. 5 (1683) and Corelli's Op. 2, compiled by Ann Owen between 1685 and 1695.



## APPENDIX 1

Bodleian Library MS Mus.Sch. d.220  
Thematic catalogue and list of concordances

## Printed sources

- P1651      John Playford, A Musicall Banquet set forth  
in three Choice Varieties of Musick ..., London  
1651
- P1655      John Playford, Court Ayres, or Pavins, Almains,  
Corant's and Sarabands of two Parts, Treble  
and Basse for Viols or Violins, which may be  
performed in consort to the Theorbo Lute or  
Virginalls, London 1655
- P1662      John Playford, Courtly Masquing Ayres ... of  
two Parts, London 1662
- P1666      John Playford, Music's Delight on the Cithren,  
London 1666 .

## Manuscripts

Manuscripts are identified by RISM sigla with the following  
exceptions where the pressmark only is given:

Ob MSS Mus.Sch. d.233-6; d.245-7; e.410-14

Lbl Add.17795 (one of a set of partbooks, Add.17792-6);

Add.18940-44

US-NH Filmer 3

## References

- Sabol                      Andrew J. Sabol, Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque, Providence 1978
- VDGS                      Viola da Gamba Society Provisional Index: John Jenkins, two-part airs; Chelys viii (1978-9), 71-85
- VDGS A/3T                VDGS Provisional Index: John Jenkins, airs for treble, tenor and bass; Chelys viii, 84-5
- VDGS A/3                VDGS Provisional Index: John Jenkins, three-part airs (other than the Newberry Airs) for two trebles and bass; Chelys vii (1977), 77-85
- VDGS A/4                VDGS Provisional Index: John Jenkins, 52 four-part airs; Chelys v (1973-4), 92-5

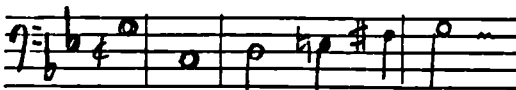
## Footnotes

Printed concordances mentioned only in footnotes are identified fully at their first appearance; MSS are identified by RISM sigla and pressmark or some other full description.

Handwritten references in the right margin are to Gordon Dodd [compiled by], Index of Music for Viols, Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain, 1980 etc. Full references give the composer, the number of the loose-leaf index sheet, and the number of the incipit on that page, e.g. Jenkins-29/11. The composer's name is omitted if it is evident from an ascription already given.

## Ayres in Gamut: for two parts

p.2

1  Pavan

Coleman-  
10/330

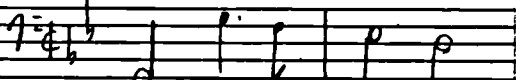
2  An Ayre by Ch.  
Coleman

Coleman-  
10/331

3  Corant

Coleman-  
10/332

p.3

4  Almaine

Coleman-  
10/333

5  Seribran

Coleman-  
10/334

6  An Almaine

Coleman-  
10/335

7  Country dance

Coleman-  
10/336

p.4

8  An Almaine  
[Charles  
Coleman]

Pl655 no.4  
Pl662 no.51

8/294

9  An ayre  
[Charles  
Coleman]











Pl655 no.1  
Pl662 no.48






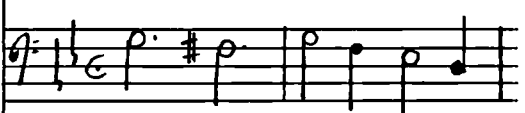




8/291

10  Coranto  
[Charles  
Coleman]

Pl655 no.7  
Pl662 no.52

8/297

|     |    |   |                         |   |                    |
|-----|----|---|-------------------------|---|--------------------|
| p.5 | 11 |    | A seribrán              |   | Coleman-<br>10/337 |
|     | 12 |    | A Coranto by<br>Ch: Co: |   | 10/338             |
|     | 13 |    | Morris by<br>Cha: Co:   |   | 10/339             |
| p.6 | 14 |   | A Maske                 | Sabol 418<br>(Unidentified)                       | Coleman<br>10/340  |
|     | 15 |  | A seribrán              |   | Coleman<br>10/341  |
|     | 16 |  | A fancie                |   | Coleman<br>10/342  |
|     | 17 |  | A seribrán              |   |                    |
| p.7 | 18 |  | An almaine<br>Coleman   | Pl655 no.2<br>Pl662 no.49                         | 8/292              |
|     | 19 |  | Seribrán                | Pl655 no.3<br>Pl662 no.50<br>(Charles<br>Coleman) | 8/293              |
|     | 20 |  | An Ayre                 | Pl651 no.5<br>Pl655 no.19<br>(William<br>Lawes)   | Coleman<br>10/343  |

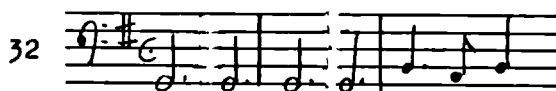
|            |   |                            |  |                  |
|------------|---|----------------------------|--|------------------|
| 21         |    | A coranto by<br>Wm. Lawes  | P1651 no.6<br>P1655 no.20                    | 20/350           |
| p.8<br>22  |    | An almain                  | P1651 no.4<br>P1655 no.15<br>(William Lawes) | 20/347<br>21/365 |
| 23         |    | Coranto                    |  |                  |
| 24         |    | Seribran                   | Concordances:<br>see below.                  | Lawes-<br>19/345 |
| p.9<br>25  |   | Elizeum by<br>Mr Wm. Lawes | P1651 no.3<br>P1655 no.14<br>P1662 no.3      | 20/346           |
| 26         |  | A sarabran by<br>Wm. Lawes | P1651 no.7<br>P1655 no.21                    | 20/352           |
| 27         |  | A contry<br>dance          |  | Lawes-<br>21/367 |
| p.10<br>28 |  | Pavan Mr<br>Taylor         |  |                  |
| 29         |  | Coranto Wm.<br>Lawes       |  | Lawes-<br>21/368 |
| p.11<br>30 |  | Almaine by<br>Mr Taylor    |  |                  |

Concordances to no.24: P1651 no.2; P1655 no.13; P1662 no.2 (William Lawes); Ob MS Mus.Sch.d.245-6 p.210, 228; 3-part version d.245-7 p.232, 265, f.72v asc. Jenkins.



A sarabran by  
Mr. Wm. Lawes

18/327



A Toye by Mr  
David Mell

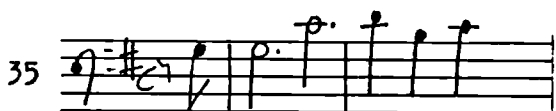
p.12



Almain by Wm.      Pl651 no.10  
Lawes



Corant Wm.      Pl651 no.11  
Lawes



Coranto

p.13



Seribran of      Pl651 no.12  
the same suite  
by Mr W. Lawes



An Ayre du  
Roy



A contry  
dance






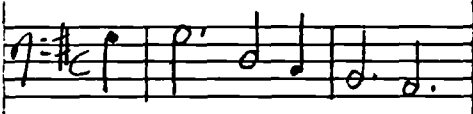

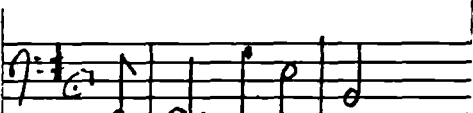



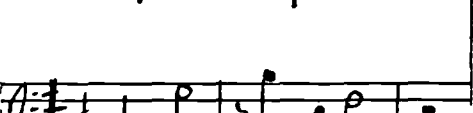
A morisca




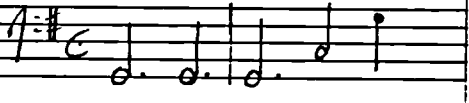




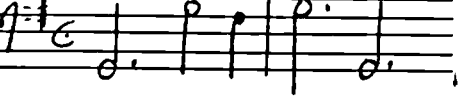
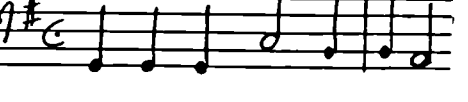
p.14








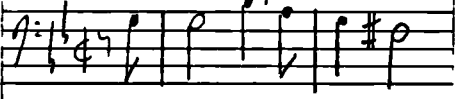




Pavana J.J.      Pl655 no.55  
Pl662 no.54  
(Charles  
Coleman)

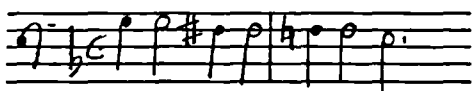
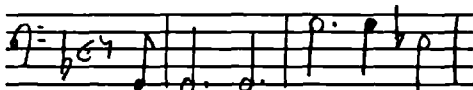
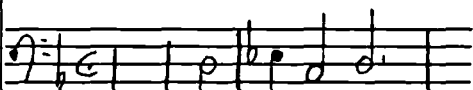
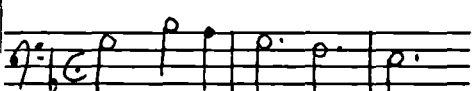

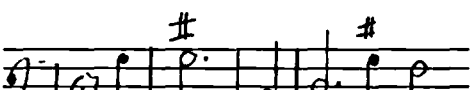
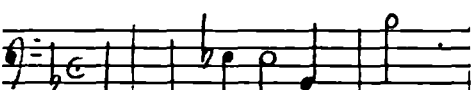
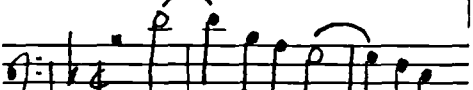
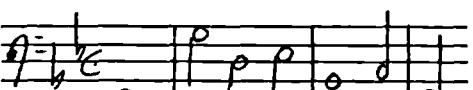

8/263

|      |   |  |   |                  |
|------|---|--|---|------------------|
| 41   |    | Coranto                                    | P1655 no.57<br>P1662 no.56<br>(Charles Coleman)                           | 8/265            |
| p.15 |   | An Ayre by J.J.                            | P1655 no.58<br>(Charles Coleman)  | Coleman<br>8/266 |
| 42   |    |  |   |                  |
| 43   |    | A corant in the<br>same suite by<br>J.J.   |   |                  |
| 44   |    | A Toye by J.J.                             |   |                  |
| p.16 |   |  |   |                  |
| 45   |  | An Almame by<br>Mr Jenkins                 | P1655 no.56<br>P1662 no.55<br>(Charles Coleman)                           | Coleman<br>8/264 |
| 46   |  | A courante by<br>John Jenkins              | P1662 no.61<br>(Charles Coleman)  | Coleman<br>8/273 |
| 47   |  | A contry-dance<br>by Mr Ambrose<br>Beeland |   |                  |
| p.17 |   | An Ayre J.J.                               | P1655 no.73<br>Och 1005 p.15<br>VDGS no.30                                | Jenkins<br>25/30 |
| 48   |  |  |   |                  |
| 49   |  | A Coranto by<br>J.J.                       | P1655 no.78<br>P1662 no.96<br>Och 1005 p.16<br>Och 599 no.2<br>VDGS no.31 | Jenkins<br>25/31 |
| p.18 |   |  |   |                  |
| 50   |  | Almain by Ch.<br>Coleman                   | P1662 no.58   | 8/268            |

|      |   |   |                             |       |
|------|---|---|-----------------------------|-------|
| 51   |    | A Jegg by Dr.<br>Ch: Co:                | Fl662 no.59<br>'Saraband'   | 8/269 |
| 52   |    | A seribran Mr<br>Taylor                 |                             |       |
| p.19 |   |   |                             |       |
| 53   |    | A mask                                  | Sabol 419<br>(unidentified) |       |
| 54   |    | A Toye by Mr<br>Ambrose Beeland         |                             |       |
| 55   |  | Contry Dance by<br>A. Beeland           |                             |       |
| 56   |  | The Comon Hunt<br>by A:B:               |                             |       |
| p.20 |   |   |                             |       |
| 57   |  | English Humour<br>by Theophilus<br>Lupo |                             |       |
| 58   |  | French humour                           |                             |       |
| 59   |  | Spanish humour                          |                             |       |
| 60   |  | Irish humour                            |                             |       |



|      |   |  |        |
|------|---|--|--------|
| 61   |    | Scottish. The<br>end of the suite<br>of languages                      |        |
| p.21 |   |  |        |
| 62   |    | Golden Grove. P1662 no.15<br>An ayre by Wm.<br>Lawes                   | 21/361 |
| 63   |    | Corant P1662 no.16   | 21/362 |
| 64   |    | Second corant P1662 no.17<br>in Golden Grove                           | 21/363 |
| 65   |   | The End of the<br>suite of ayres P1662 no.18<br>called Golden<br>Grove | 21/364 |
| p.22 |   |  |        |
| 66   |  | An Almajn by P1651 no.8<br>W.Lawes P1662 no.5                          |        |
| 67   |  | The first corant P1651 no.9<br>W.L. P1662 no.6                         |        |
| 68   |  | Corant P1662 no.7  |        |
| 69   |  | Thus endeth the P1662 no.8<br>suite of ayres<br>W.L.                   |        |
| p.23 |   |  |        |
| 70   |  | Almaine by Mr<br>Geo. Hudson   |        |

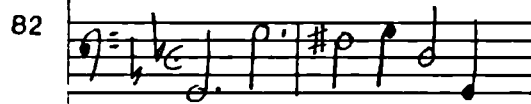
|      |   |                             |   |
|------|---|-----------------------------|---|
| 71   |    | Seribrand G.H.              |   |
| 72   |    | Corant G. Hudson            |   |
| 73   |    | Seribrand Geo.<br>Hudson    |   |
| 74   |    | Heere ends the<br>suite     |   |
| p.24 |   | An Ayre by Mr<br>J. Jenkins | Pl655 no. /8<br>Och 1005 p.10<br>VDGS no.14 |
| 75   |  |                             | 23/14                                       |
| 76   |  | Corant                      |   |
| 77   |  | Contry dance<br>A toye A.B. |   |
| p.25 |   | An Almain                   | Jenkins-15/3<br>second<br>section           |
| 78   |  |                             |   |
| 79   |  | Gallyard                    | Jenkins-15/3<br>final section               |
| 80   |  | An Ayre                     |   |

p.26



Pavan

8/299

A Toye Ch.  
Coleman

8/300



Contry Dance

Coleman-  
10/344

p.27



Almain

Pl655 no.6  
(Coleman)

8/296



Grand Maske

Sabot 420  
(unidentified)Coleman  
10/345

Seribran

Coleman  
10/346

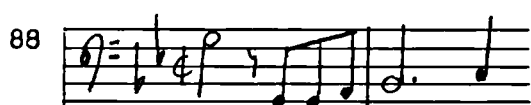
p.28



The first ayre

d.245-6 no.7  
p.187, 212  
(Charles Coleman)

9/313

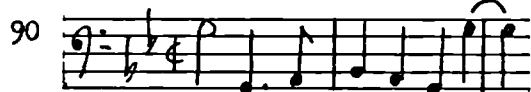


The first ayre

d.245-6 no.8  
p.187, 212  
(Charles Coleman)

9/314

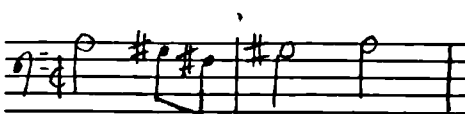
p.29

The fourth  
Ayre. Heere  
ends the  
suite of Dr  
Ch. Coleman's  
Ayres.d.245-6 no.9  
p.188, 213Colem  
10/347

9/315

## Ayres in A Re for two parts

p.30

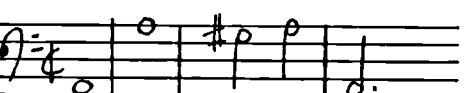
1  Pavan

2  Galliard

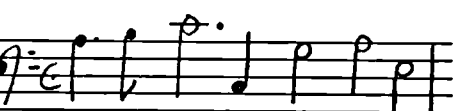
3  Almaine  
David Mell

4  Saraban Mr  
David Mell

p.31

5  An Almaine


6  Pavane

7  The Galliard

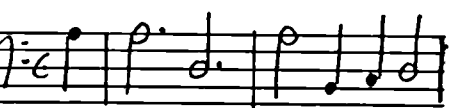
p.32

8  Almain Wm.  
Lawes

22/384

9  Corant Wm.  
Lawes

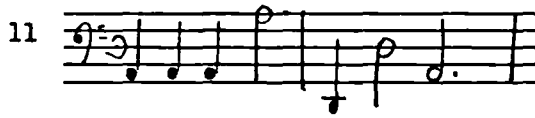
22/385

10  Corant Wm.  
Lawes

Pl655 no.214

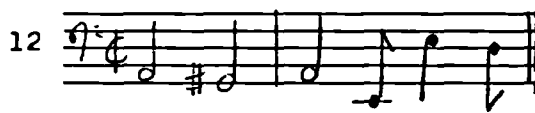
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p.33

Saraban Wm.  
Lawes

Pl655 no.215

22/383

Almain by  
Monseieur  
MercuryCorant M.  
MercurySaraban. Almain  
Cor. Sar. by  
M. Mercury

p.34



Ayre

Coleman - 11/361



Corant

" 362



Saraban

" 363



Alman

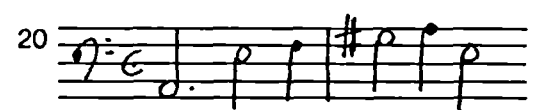
" 364



Corant


" 365


p.35




Saraban Ch:Co:

" 366


21  Almain Wm Lawes Pl655 no.213 22/381

22  Corant  
Almain & Corant  
by Wm Lawes 22/387

p.36

23  Alman J.J. Jenkins-15/5  
second  
section


24  Saraban

25  Fancy J.J.

} Jenkins-  
15/5  
final  
section

p.37


26  Alman Mr  
Beeland

27  Saraban Mr  
Beeland


28  Skip Jack


29  Saraban

p.38

30  An Ayre  
Mr Taylor

31  Corant Mr  
Taylor

32  Saraban

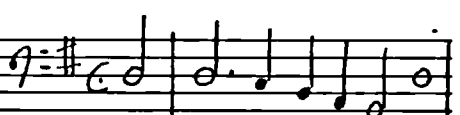
33  Morris.  
Ayre Cor Sar  
Morris by Mr  
Taylor

p.39


34  Ayre Mr  
Sebastian

35  Saraban

36  Corant Mr  
Adson

37  Corant

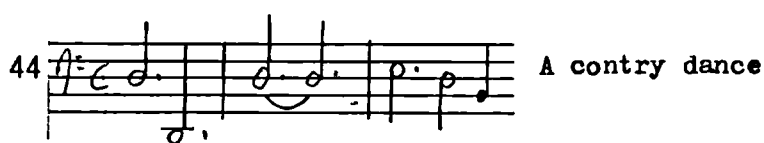
p.40

38  Delatrumbo  
Pavane

39  A Galliard

p.41


40  An Almain

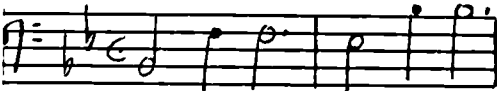





## Ayres in B me for two Parts

p.45


5  **Almaine A.B.**


6  **A Toye by Am.  
Beeland**

7  **Corant**


8  **Seribran A.B.  
Almain Toy  
Corant &  
Seribran by  
Amb. Beeland**


p.46


9  **Pavane Dr Ch:  
Coleman** Pl655 no.144    12/34  
Pl662 no.63


10  **An Ayre by Dr  
Ch: Coleman** Pl655 no.152    12/40  
Pl662 no.70


p.47

11  **Corant Ch. Co.** Pl655 no.153    12/40  
Pl662 no.71


12  **Seribran Ch. Co.** Pl655 no.154    12/40s  
Pl662 no.72


13  **Ayre Ch. Coleman** 12/406


14  **Corant** Pl655 no.156    12/401  
Pl662 no.68  
(Dr Charles  
Coleman)


15  Seribrán  
Two suites by  
Cha. Coleman P1655 no.151 12/402  
P1662 no.69


p.48  
a

16  Almain Geo.  
Hudson


17  Corant G. Hudson


18  Seribrán  
Corant Seribrán  
& Almaine by G.H.


19  An Almain P1662 no.64 12/396  
(Dr Charles  
Coleman)


20  Corant

p.48  
b

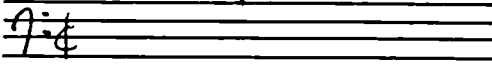
11  Corant  
Slow tyme

12  Seribrán  
Quick tyme

13  Coranto

14  Coranto

p.48

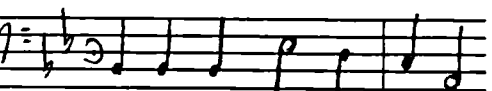
1  Almain  
(not copied)

2  An Ayre by Phil:  
Becket

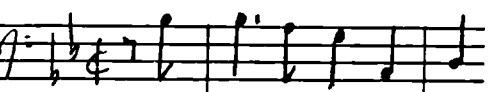
3  A contry dance

4  Corant

p.49

21  Seribrán  
Pl655 no.147  
Pl662 no.66  
(Dr Charles Coleman)


12/398

22  Almain The.  
Lupo

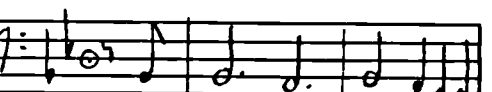
23  Corant Theo.  
Lupo

24  Seribrán  
Almain Corant  
& Seribrán by  
The. Lupo

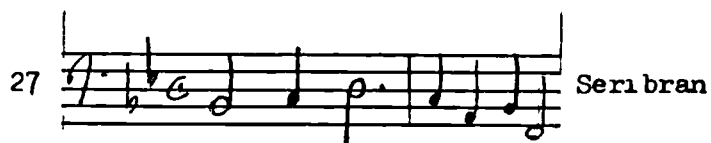
p.50'

25  An Almain  
Pl655 no.149  
(Charles Coleman)

12/400

26  Corant  
Pl655 no.146  
Pl662 no.65  
(Dr Charles Coleman)

12/397



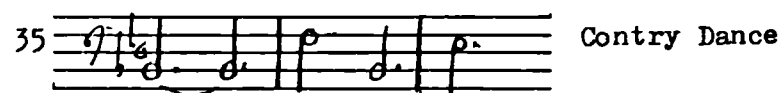
Pl662 no.67  
(Almaine, Dr  
Charles  
Coleman)

12/344

p.51


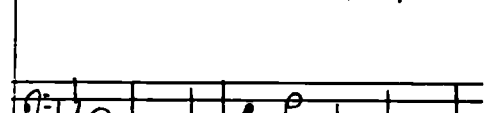
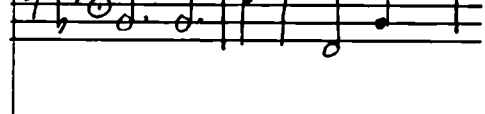
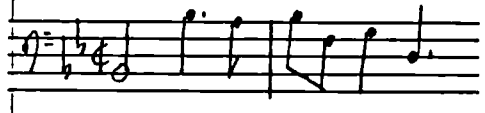

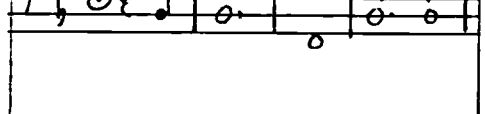


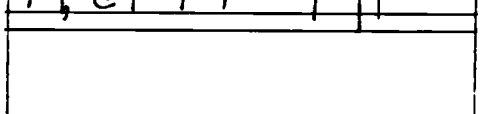



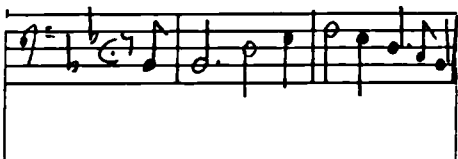
p.52

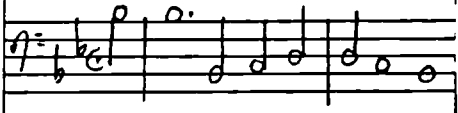



p.53



|       |   |  |                             |        |
|-------|---|--|-----------------------------|--------|
| 37    |    | Corant<br>The. Lupo  |                             |        |
| 38    |    | Seribrán<br>Ayre, Corant<br>Seribrán by Mr<br>Theoph. Lupo |                             |        |
| p. 54 |   |  |                             |        |
| 39    |    | Aire Mr Wm.<br>Lawes                                       | Pl655 no.162<br>Pl662 no.41 | 22/391 |
| 40    |    | Corant Wm.<br>Lawes  | Pl655 no.163<br>Pl662 no.42 | 22/392 |
| 41    |    | Corant Wm.<br>Lawes  | Pl655 no.164<br>Pl662 no.43 | 22/393 |
| p. 55 |   |  |                             |        |
| 42    |   | Seribrán Mr<br>Wm. Lawes                                   | Pl655 no.165<br>Pl662 no.44 | 22/394 |
| 43    |  | An Almain by<br>Wm. Lawes                                  |                             | 22/397 |
| 44    |  | Morris<br>Six tunes in<br>one suite by<br>W.L.             |                             | 22/398 |
| 45    |  | Frankin  |                             |        |
| p. 56 |   |  |                             |        |
| 46    |  | Almaine by<br>Mr John Taylor                               |                             |        |

47  Corant J.T.

48  Seribran J.T.

49  Almain J.T.

50  Seribran


p. 57

51  An Almain by  
Mr David Mell


52  Seribran D.M.

53  vinatorians  
The. Lupoe


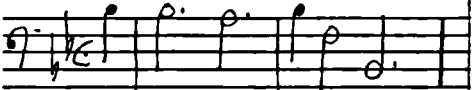

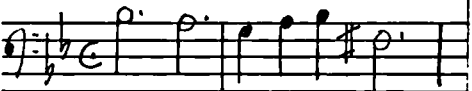
p. 58

54  An Ayre by Tho.  
Pratt  
[Ayre called  
Amsterdam] Pl662 no.186



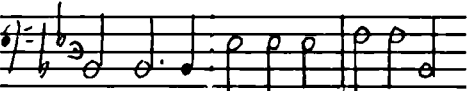
55  A Corant by T.P. Pl662 no.187

56  Amsterdam.  
Heere ends a  
suit of 3 by  
Mr Tho. Pratt Pl662 no.188

p.59

|    |   |  |                                 |
|----|---|--|---------------------------------|
| 57 |  | Almain   | e.410-4 no.50<br>(Richard Cook) |
| 58 |  | Corant Mr Cook   | e.410-4 no.52                   |
| 59 |  | An Ayre by Mr<br>Cooke                                     | e.410-4 no.51                   |
| 60 |  | Seribran<br>Alman Corant<br>Ayre & Seribran<br>by Mr Cooke | e.410-4 no.53                   |

p.60






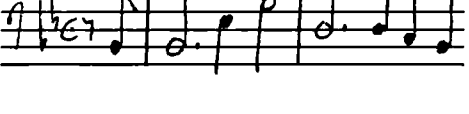

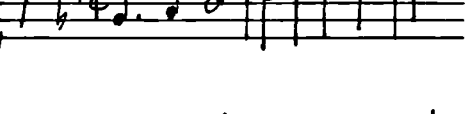
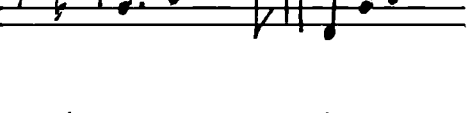

|    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 61 |   | An Almaine by<br>Mr Taylor                                    |
| 62 |  | Corant John<br>Taylor   |
| 63 |  | Chaconnes<br>Almain Courant<br>Chaconnes by<br>Mr John Taylor |

Nos. 64-67 are the same as nos. 11-14, p.48b

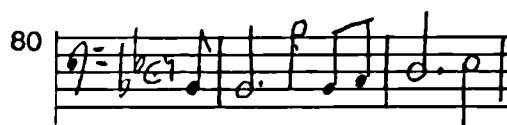
- 64 A Corant very - slow Tyme
- 65 Seribran Quick Tyme
- 66 Corant
- 67 A Corant

p.62

|    |   |        |
|----|---|--------|
| 68 |  | Ayre   |
| 69 |  | Corant |

|      |   |   |  |                    |
|------|---|---|--|--------------------|
| 70   |    | Saraban   |  |                    |
| 71   |    | Ayre Mr Hudson  |  |                    |
| 72   |    | Corant G.H.   |  |                    |
| p.63 |   | Seribran<br>Aire, corant<br>& seribran by<br>Mr Geo. Hudson |  |                    |
| 73   |    |   |  |                    |
| 74   |  | Alman   |  | Coleman-<br>12/414 |
| 75   |  | Corant<br>Ch. Coleman                                       | Pl655 no.156<br>Pl662 no.74                            | 12/408             |
| 76   |  | Seribran<br>Ch: Coleman                                     | Pl655 no.157<br>Pl662 no.75                            | 12/409             |
| 77   |  | Almain<br>Ch: Coleman                                       | Pl655 no.158<br>Pl662 no.76                            | 12/410             |
| p.64 |   |   |  |                    |
| 78   |  | Ayre  | Pl655 no.155<br>Pl662 no.73<br>(Dr Charles<br>Coleman) | 12/407             |
| 79   |  | Almain  | Pl655 no.159<br>Pl662 no.77<br>(Dr Charles<br>Coleman) | 12/411             |





Corant Ch.  
Coleman

Pl655 no.160  
Pl662 no.78

12/412



Saraban  
Aire, Alman  
Cor. Saraban  
by Ch. Coleman

Pl655 no.161  
Pl662 no.79

12/413

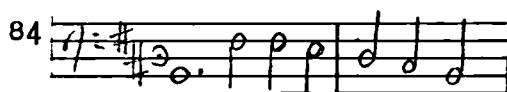


Aire

p.65



Aire  
Passacale  
Tho. Pratt



Tho. Pratt



Tho. Pratt

### Ayres in C Fa ut

p.66



Almaine

Pl651 no.22  
(Mr Simpsons)  
Add. 18940-44 f.12

4/13



Ayre Mr  
Sympson


Pl651 no.23  
Add. 18940-44 f.13


4/15




Coranto


p.67


4  Almain  
John Gamble


5  Corant


6  Sarabran  
Ayre, Corant  
& Seribran by  
J.G.

p.68


7  Ayre  
G. Hudson


8  Corant

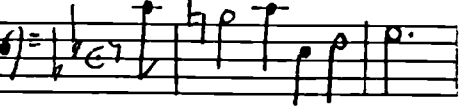
9  Serabran  
Ayre Corant &  
Sarabran by  
Geo: Hudson

10  Running alman  
by Geo: Hudson

p.69

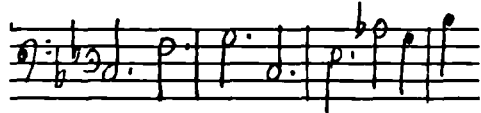
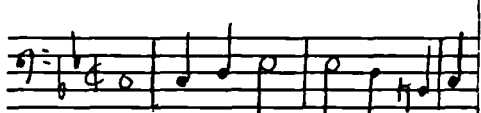

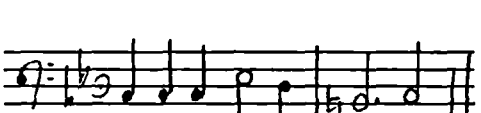
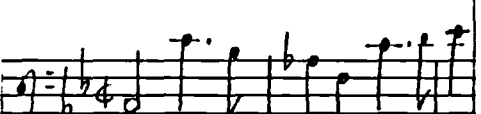

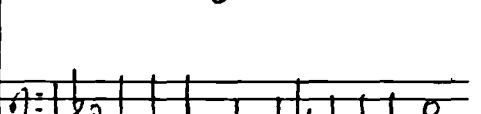
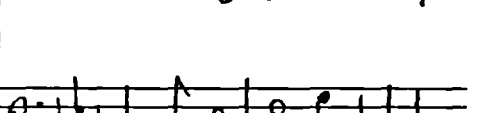
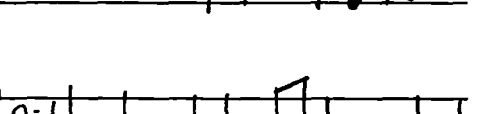
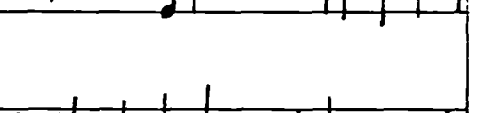
11  Seribran  
G. Hudson

12  Almain

13  Corant

Coleman-3/5

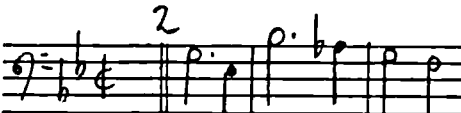



" 53

|      |   |  |  |
|------|---|--|--|
| 14   |    | Seribran<br>Alman, Corant<br>Saraban<br>Charles<br>Coleman | 3/54   |
| p.70 |   |  |  |
| 15   |    | Aire   | Concordances: Jenkins<br>see below. 29/93          |
| 16   |    | Corant<br>J. Jenkins                                       | Och 1005 p.63<br>Och 599 no.23 29/81<br>VDGS no.81 |
| 17   |    | Saraban<br>Aire Corant<br>& saraban<br>J. Jenkins          |  |
| p.71 |   |  |  |
| 18   |   | Ayre Mr Wm.<br>Lawes                                       | Pl 655 no.134 15/221                               |
| 19   |  | Corant W.L.  | 15/222   |
| 20   |  | Saraban W.L.<br>Ayre, Cor &<br>Saraban by Wm.<br>Lawes     | 15/235   |
| 21   |  | Alman C.<br>Coleman  | 3/55   |
| p.72 |   |  |  |
| 22   |  | Almaine  |  |
| 23   |  | Coranto  |  |




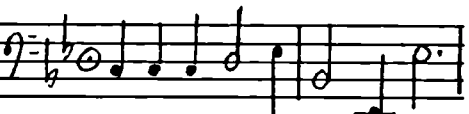
Concordances to no.15: d.245-6 no.13, p.189, 214; Och 1005 p.74; Lbl Add.17795 f.52. VDGS no.93. 3-part version; d.245-7 p.236, 269, f.75; see VDGS A/3T/6;A/3/98.



p.75


|    |   |                        |   |                   |
|----|---|------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 34 |  | Almaine Ch:<br>Coleman | (1st strain<br>not copied)  | 3/56              |
| 35 |  | Corant                 |   | Coleman-3/5       |
| 36 |  | Saraban Ch:<br>Coleman |   | 3/58              |
| 37 |  | Almains                | Pl655 no.131<br>(William Lawes)<br>Och 1005 p.69<br>(John Jenkins)<br>Och 599 no.26<br>VDGS no.88 | Jenkins-<br>29/88 |


p.76

|    |   |   |  |        |
|----|---|---|--|--------|
| 38 |  | Corant Mr<br>Jenkins                            | Pl655 no.132<br>Och 1005 p.70<br>Och 599 no.27<br>VDGS no.89 | 29/89  |
| 39 |  | Saraban Mr<br>Jenkins                           | Och 1005 p.71<br>VDGS no.90                                  | 29/90  |
| 40 |  | Almains   | Pl655 no.135<br>(William Lawes)                              |        |
| 41 |  | Saraban<br>Almains &<br>Saraban Mr Wm.<br>Lawes |  | 15/236 |


p.77


|    |   |          |  |  |
|----|---|----------|--|--|
| 42 |  | A corant |  |  |
| 43 |  | Ayre     |  |  |


44  Saraban


45  Corant  
Ayre Saraband  
& Corant

p.78


46  Almaine by Ch:  
Coleman 2/18


47  Ayre Dr Coleman 2/19


48  Corant 2/20

49  Saraban Dr Coleman 2/21


p.79

50  An Almaine

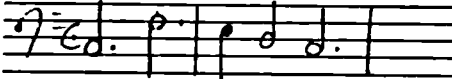
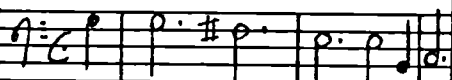
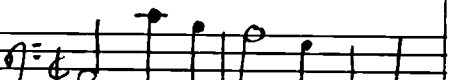
51  Saraban

52  An Ayre

Saraban

53  Alm. saraban  
Ayre & saraban  
in one suite

p.80

|    |   |                             |                                    |
|----|---|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 54 |    | A medley of ten<br>Ayres. 1 |                                    |
| 55 |    | 2. Wm Lawes                 | 18/328                             |
| 56 |    | 3. Wm. Lawes                | Concordances: 14/210<br>see below. |
| 57 |    | 4. French Aire              |                                    |
| 58 |  | 5. Dido                     |                                    |

Concordances to no. 56

Lbl Add 18940-44 f. 10v (Mr C. Coleman)

Lbl Add. 10337 f. 4v, 'One of ye symphonies'.

London Museum, Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book, p.22 & p.27

US-NYp Drexel 5612 p.27. 'A maske'.

Ob MS Mus. Sch. d. 245-6 p.211, 229.


Paulus Matthysz, t'Uitnemend Kabinet vol Pavanen, Almanden,  
Sarabanden, Couranten, Balleten, Intraden, Airs &c. 2 parts,  
Amsterdam 1646, 1649; Part ii, f. 17v.Richard Mathew, The Lute's Apology London 1652, p.21John Playford, The Dancing Master; all editions 1651-1690- Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way.  
London 1669 p.16- Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way...  
the Second Edition. London 1682, p.22

See Andrew J. Sabol (ed), Four Hundred Songs and Dances from  
the Stuart Masque, Providence 1978, no.383 and p.617. Sabol  
argues that this movement originated in a masque, possibly  
The Triumph of Peace, 1634.

p.81

59  6. Contry Dance

60  7. Saraban  
John Atkinson


61  8. Wm. Lawes

14/211

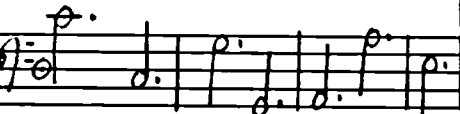
62  9. H. Lawes


63  10. Morisca

p.82

64  Almaine

65  Saraban

66  Contry dance  
Mr Wythee  
Mr John Withy

67  Not copied Jegg

p.83

68  Almain



|      |   |                                 |                             |
|------|---|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 69   |    | Saraban                         |                             |
| 70   |    | Ayre                            | Concordances:<br>see below. |
| 71   |    | Saraban                         |                             |
| p.84 |   |                                 |                             |
| 72   |    | Almaine<br>John Gamble          |                             |
| 73   |   | Saraban<br>John Gamble          |                             |
| 74   |  | Morris<br>3 Ayres in a<br>Suite |                             |

#### Concordances to no.70

Ob MS Mus Sch b.2 fols. 38v-39v.

MS Mus Sch d 245-6 p.211,228.

Lbl Add 18940-4 f.10

'Add. 10337 f.5; 'One of ye Symphonies'

London Museum, Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book, f. 16v

Paulus Matthysz, t'Uitnemend Kabinet

Richard Mathew, The Lute's Apology

John Banister & Thomas Low, New Ayres and Dialogues composed for  
voices and viols...together with lessons for viols or violins,  
London 1678, no.12.

See Sabol, 1978, no.36. The movement in d.220 (and in all other sources except the autograph, Ob MS Mus.Sch.b.2) is the opening ritornello of William Lawes' song 'Hence, hence ye profane' from The Triumph of Peace.



p.85



p.86

Concordances:  
see below

14/201

Concordances to no.80

Ob MS Mus. Sch. b.2 fols 38v-39v

MS Mus. Sch. d.245-6 p.211,228

Lbl Add. 18940-4 f.10v

Add. 10337 f.19v; 'A Maske'

London Museum, Anne Cromwell's Virginal Book, f.24.

See Sabol, 1978, no.37. The movement in d.220 and all other sources except Mus.Sch.b.2 is the opening ritornello only of Lawes' 'Wherefore do my sisters stay?' from The Triumph of Peace.

|      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| 81   |    | Contry Dance   |
| 82   |    | Corant Mr Taylor<br>J.T.                             |
| 83   |    | Morris   |
| 84   |    | Scottish<br>Saraban                                  |
| p.87 |   |  |
| 85   |  | Ayre   |
| 86   |  | Corant   |
| 87   |  | Saraban Mr<br>Taylor                                 |
| 88   |  | Toye<br>Ayre, Cor, Sar,<br>Toy by Mr<br>Taylor       |
| p.88 |   |  |
| 89   |  | Bow Bells<br>rung backward<br><br>Ambrose<br>Beeland |
| 90   |  | Corant Mr<br>Beeland                                 |

## Ayres in D sol re

p.100

1 A Pavane by Mr Cook

2 Almain Mr Cook e.410-4 no.58

3 Corant Mr Cook e.410-4 no.59

p.101

4 Seribran

Pav. Alm. Cor.  
Ser by Mr Cook

5 Almain

6 Corant

7 Seribran

Alman, Corant  
& Seribran in  
one suite

p.102

8 Ayre Mr Cook Pl655 no.115  
Pl662 no.123  
(Richard Cook)

9 Seribran Mr Cook Pl655 no.116  
Pl662 no.124  
(‘Coranto’)

10 Almaine Mr Cook Pl655 no.114  
Pl662 no.122  
(‘Ayre’, Ric.  
Cook)  
e 410-4 no.60

p.103



Seribran

P1655 no.117  
P1662 no.125  
(Richard Cook)  
e 410-4 no.61



Alman



Moris  
St Peters Bells  
Almain & Moris

p.104



Almaine by Mr  
John Jenkyns

Concordances:  
see below



Seribran  
Mr John Jenkins



The Bells

Concordances:  
see below

Nos. 13-21 are a version of John Jenkins' consort 'Lady Katherine Audley's Bells'.

Concordances:

P1662 no.102

Lb1 Add. 31427 no.VI

Ob MS Mus.Sch.c.88 f.12v

Ob MS Mus.Sch.c.95 p.24

Och MS 1175

Worcester, MS Vicars Choral 9

Griffith Boynton MS (privately owned) f.23v

US-NH Filmer A 16 a-c f.53

NYp MS Drexel 3849 p.105

VDGS no.161

p.105

17 The First  
Changes

18 Second  
Changes

19 third  
changes

20 The Mourners  
J.J.

21 The Ringers  
Alm: Sarabran  
Bells Changes  
Mourners &  
Ringers by J.J.

p.106

22 Almain  
Mr John Jenkins

Och 367-70 no.15  
d.233-6 no.167  
e.451 no.169  
Add.18940-44 f.23v 53/13  
VDGS A/4/13

23 Aire  
John Jenkin



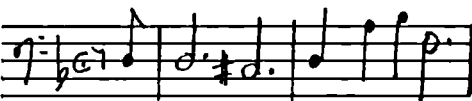

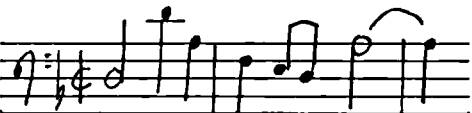

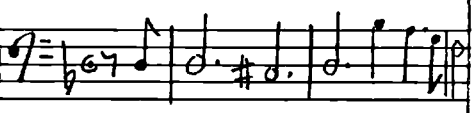


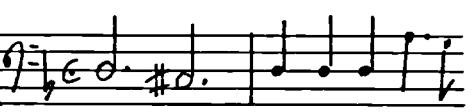
Och 367-70 no.16  
d.233-6 no.167  
e.451 no.169  
Add.18940-44 f.23v 53/14  
VDGS A/4/14

24 Almain

p.107 Corant

25

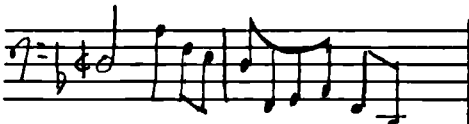
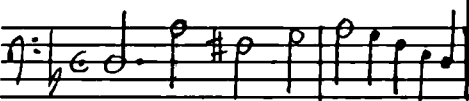








26 Corant  
Mr Lupo

|       |   |   |   |        |
|-------|---|---|---|--------|
| 27    |    | Saraban Mr<br>Lupo                                |   |        |
| 28    |    | Almains Mr<br>J. Jenkins                          | Pl662 no.99<br>Och 1005 p.26<br>Och 599 no.10<br>VDGS no.43 | 25/43  |
| 29    |    | Corant  | Pl662 no.100<br>Och 1005 p.24<br>Och 599 no.9<br>VDGS no.41 | 25/41  |
| 30    |    | Saraban<br>Alm. Corant &<br>Saraban Mr<br>Jenkins | Pl662 no.101<br>VDGS no.134                                 | 33/134 |
| 31    |   | Almains Mr<br>Jenkins                             | Och 1005 p.22<br>VDGS no.38                                 | 25/38  |
| 32    |  | Almains Mr<br>Jenkins                             | Och 1005 p.23<br>Och 599 no.7<br>VDGS no.40                 | 25/40  |
| p.109 |   |   |   |        |
| 33    |  | Corant Mr<br>Jenkins                              | VDGS no.132   | 33/132 |
| 34    |  | Saraban   | Och 1005 p.25<br>Och 599 no.8<br>VDGS no.42                 | 25/42  |
| 35    |  | Ayre by Mr<br>Jenkins                             | Och 1005 p.30<br>VDGS no.47                                 | 25/47  |
| p.110 |   |   |   |        |
| 36    |  | Saraban<br>Ayre & Saraban<br>Mr John Jenkins      | Och 1005 p.27<br>VDGS no.44                                 | 25/44  |

No.37 is the same as no.24, p.106

|       |  |  |                |
|-------|--|--|----------------|
| 38    |  | Ayre   | = no. 6, p 101 |
| 39    |  | Corant   | = no 7, p 101  |
| p.111 |  |  |                |
| 40    |  | Saraban<br>Ayre, Cor: &<br>Saraban             | = no. 8, p 101 |
| 41    |  | Almaine  |                |
| 42    |  | Saraban  |                |
| 43    |  | Almaine  |                |
| p.112 |  |  |                |
| 44    |  | Corant Mr<br>Jenkins                           |                |
| 45    |  | Saraban<br>Corant and<br>Saraban Mr<br>Jenkins |                |
| 46    |  | Almaine Mr<br>Coleman                          |                |
| p.113 |  |  |                |
| 47    |  | Saraban  | Coleman-4/3    |



|       |   |                       |                   |
|-------|---|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 48    |    | Ayre Dr<br>Coleman    | 4/132             |
| 49    |    | Saraban Dr<br>Coleman | 4/133             |
| 50    |    | Saraban               | Coleman-<br>4/134 |
| p.114 |   |                       |                   |
| 51    |    | Almain<br>Dr. Co.     | 4/135             |
| 52    |   | Corant Dr<br>Coleman  | 4/127             |
| 53    |  | Aire Dr Co:           | 4/136             |
| 54    |  | Corant Dr<br>Coleman  | 4/137             |
| p.115 |   |                       |                   |
| 55    |  | Almain                | 4/138             |
| 56    |  | Ayre Wm Lawes         | 17/270            |
| 57    |  | Corant W.L.           | 17/271            |

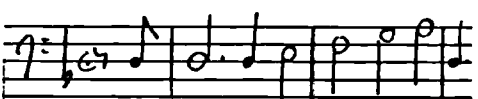
p.116

58  Corant Wm. Lawes

17/272

59  Saraban  
Corant &  
Saraban Wm.  
Lawes

17/273

60  Corant

Lawes-17/  
274

61  Corant &  
Saraban Mr Wm.  
Lawes

17/275

62  Almaine

p.117

63  Saraban  
Alm & Saraban  
Ch. Coleman

64  Ayre Mr Lupoe

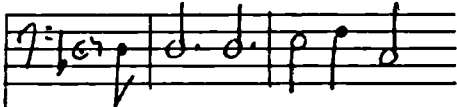









65  Saraban  
Mr Lupoe











66  Lavalta  
Mounsieur Noe

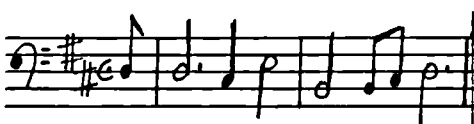
p.118


67  Almain Wm.  
Lawes


Pl655 no.92  
Pl662 no.28

|       |   |                                      |   |
|-------|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| 68    |    | Corant                               | Pl655 no.94<br>Pl662 no.30<br>(William Lawes) |
| 69    |    | Almain Will:<br>Lawes                | Pl655 no.93<br>Pl662 no.29                    |
| p.119 |   |                                      |   |
| 70    |    | Almain Mr<br>Maynard                 |   |
| 71    |    | Almaine Mr<br>Maynard                |   |
| 72    |   | Corant Mr<br>Maynard                 |   |
| 73    |  | Corant                               |   |
| 74    |  | Contry Dance                         |   |
| p.120 |   |                                      |   |
| 75    |  | Almaine Wm.<br>Lawes<br>(incomplete) | 17/276  |
| 76    |  | Corant Wm.<br>Lawes                  | 17/277  |
| 77    |  | Saraban Wm.<br>Lawes                 | 17/278  |

|             |   |                     |                       |
|-------------|---|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 78          |    | Almain Wm. Lawes    | 17/279                |
| 79          |    | Saraban Wm. Lawes   | 17/280                |
| p.121<br>80 |    | Saraban Wm. Lawes   |                       |
| 81          |    | Almaine Mr Sheppie  |                       |
| 82          |   |                     |                       |
| p.122<br>83 |  | A Toye              |                       |
| 84          |  | Ayre                |                       |
| 85          |  | Aire Mr Sheppie     |                       |
| p.123<br>86 |  | Almain Mr Wm. Lawes | Pl655 no.59<br>'Ayre' |
| 87          |  | Aire Mr Wm Lawes    |                       |

88  Saraban

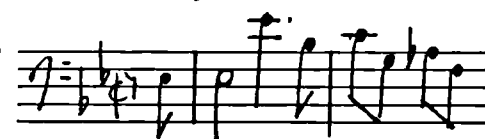
89  Corant Wm.  
Lawes


90  Saraban. Five  
choice aires  
by Mr Will:  
Lawes


Pages 124-139 are unused


Ayres in E la mie for two parts


p.140

1  Ayre Dr  
Coleman 5 / 151


2  Alman Dr  
Coleman 5 / 152




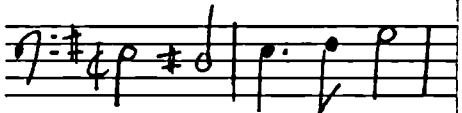


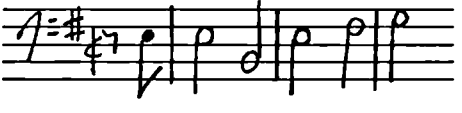
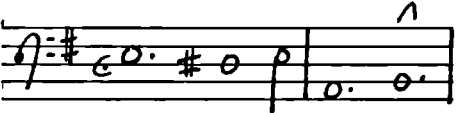


3  Corant Dr  
Coleman 5 / 153









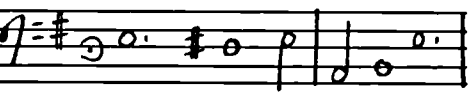

4  Seribran  
A suite by Dr  
Coleman 5 / 154




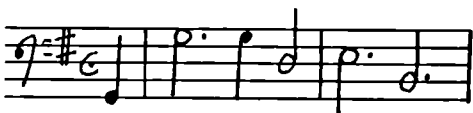




5  Almain Dr  
Coleman 5 / 155

p.141

6  Ayre Dr  
Coleman 5 / 156

|       |   |  |                             |       |
|-------|---|--|-----------------------------|-------|
| 7     |    | Corant Dr<br>Coleman   |                             | 5/157 |
| 8     |    | Seribrans<br>Almain Ayre<br>Corant Seribrans<br>in one suite by<br>Ch. Coleman |                             | 5/158 |
| p.142 |   |  |                             |       |
| 9     |    | Alman Ch:<br>Coleman   | Pl655 no.231<br>Pl662 no.86 | 5/171 |
| 10    |    | Ayre Ch.<br>Coleman  | Pl655 no.232<br>Pl662 no.87 | 5/172 |
| 11    |   | Corant Ch.<br>Coleman  | Pl655 no.233<br>Pl662 no.88 | 5/173 |
| 12    |  | A suite of<br>ffoure by Dr<br>Ch. Coleman                                      | Pl655 no.234<br>Pl662 no.89 | 5/174 |
| p.143 |   |  |                             |       |
| 13    |  | Almain John<br>Taylor  |                             |       |
| 14    |  | Saraban  |                             |       |
| 15    |  | Morris<br>Three Ayres by<br>Mr John Taylor                                     |                             |       |
| 16    |  | An humour<br>Theoph. Lupo  |                             |       |

- p.144
- 17  Almaine Mr  
Lupoe
- 18  Corant Mr Lupoe
- 19  Saraban T. Lupoe
- 20  Contrey Dance  
4 Ayres by Mr  
Theoph: Lupoe
- p.145
- 21  Almain John  
Taylor
- 22  Corant Mr  
Taylor
- 23  Almaine Corant  
& Saraban by  
Mr John Taylor
- 24  Almain by Mr  
Taylor
- 25  Saraban Ayre  
Pasachally
- 26  Corant Mr  
Taylor

|       |   |  |                  |
|-------|---|--|------------------|
| 27    |    | Saraban<br>4 Ayres by J.<br>Taylor       |                  |
| p.147 |   |  |                  |
| 28    |    | Almain Mr Wm.<br>Lawes                   | 17/296           |
| 29    |    | Ayre                                     | Lawes-<br>17/297 |
| 30    |    | Corant Wm.<br>Lawes                      | 17/298           |
| 31    |   | Saraban<br>four Ayres by<br>Mr Wm. Lawes | 17/299           |
| p.148 |   |  |                  |
| 32    |  | A Corant Wm.<br>Lawes                    | 17/300           |
| 33    |  | Saraban                                  |                  |
| 34    |  | A Northern<br>Fancie                     |                  |

Pages 149-151 are unused



## Ayres in Fa ut for two Parts

p.152  
1  Almain P1651 no.31

2  Seribrán  
Alman & Seribrán  
Mr Cook

3  Ayre  
Alman seribrán  
& Ayre by Mr  
Cooke

p.153  
4  Corant

5  Almain

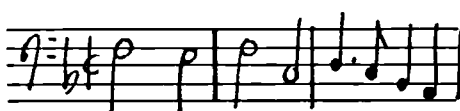
6  Seribrán  
Mr Cook

p.154  
7  Alman

8  Alman & Seribrán  
by Mr Simpson

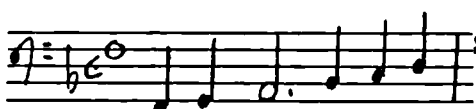
Simpson-41

4/11

9  Alman  
Mar: Wright

10  Coranto M.W.

p.155

11  Seribrán M.W.

12  Country Dance

13  A Morris

p.156

14  Pavan Almain  
Ch: Coleman

7/223

15  Almain Ayre  
Ch: Coleman

7/224

16  Ayre Ch. Coleman

7/225

p.157

17  Saraban C.C.

7/226

18  Pavan Mr Ch.  
Coleman

7/227

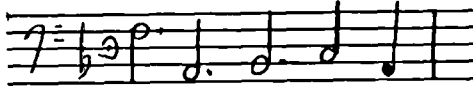




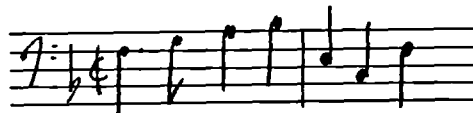




19  Almain  
Carolus Coleman








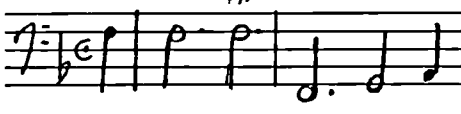

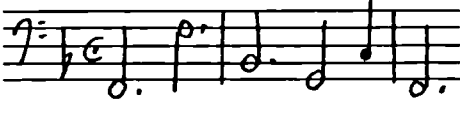
7/228





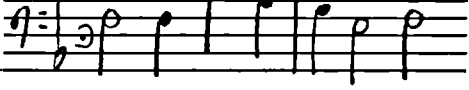



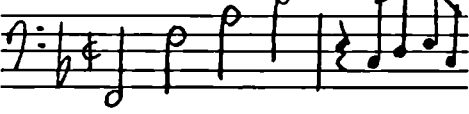

p.158

20  Alman by Ch.  
Coleman

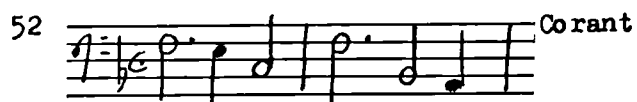
7/229

- 21  Saraban by Dr Coleman 7/230
- 22  Almain Ch. Coleman 7/231
- 23  Almain Mr Coleman 7/232
- 24  Saraban Ch. Coleman 7/226
- p.159
- 25  Pavan Ch. Coleman 7/233
- 26  Almain 7/234
- 27  Corant Ch. Coleman 7/235
- 28  Saraban Pav:Alm:Cor:saraban By Dr Ch: Coleman 7/236
- p.160
- 29  Pavane Ch: Coleman P1651 no.28 P1655 no.189 6/213
- 30  An Almaine P1651 no.29 ('A Symphony'; Charles Coleman) 6/214

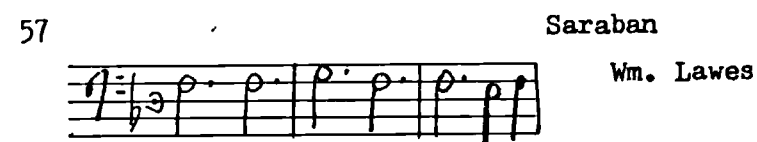
- 31  Corant
- 32  Saraban
- p.161  
33  A symphonie d.245-6 p.212,  
229-30  
Sabot 385
- 34  An Ayre Pl651 no.30 1v.4/2  
Pl655 no.85  
Pl666 p.74  
Add. 18940-44  
f.9v (Mr C.  
Coleman)  
Sabot 382
- 35  Saraban 35 only:d.245- 1v.4/6  
6 p.212,230.  
(Mr Ives)
- 36  Contry Dance
- p.162  
37  Pavane
- 38  A Toye
- p.163  
39  Almaine Pl655 no.191 6/217  
Ch: Cole: Pl662 no.82
- 40  A Toye Pl655 no.192 6/218  
Alman & Toye  
C.C.

|       |   |  |   |  |
|-------|---|--|---|--|
| 41    |    | Corant   |   |  |
| 42    |    | Saraban<br>A Corant &<br>saraban                   |   |  |
| p.164 |   |  |   |  |
| 43    |    | The Bells<br>An Almaine                            | See below                                     | Jenkins -<br>31/104                            |
| 44    |    | Corant to the<br>Bells                             | See below                                     | Jenkins -<br>31/105                            |
| 45    |    | Saraban  | See below                                     | Jenkins -<br>31/106                            |
| p.165 |   |  |   |  |
| 46    |  | Ayre by Mr<br>Jenkins                              |   | 15/1<br>Second<br>section<br>See no. 67, p 170 |
| 47    |  | Corant<br>J. Jenkins                               | Och 1005 p.91<br>Filmer 3 f.82<br>VDGS no.108 | 31/108   |
| 48    |  | An humoure<br>The Beggars<br>Dance by Mr<br>Taylor |   |  |
| p.166 |   |  |   |  |
| 49    |  | Almaine<br>Ch: Coleman                             | Fl655 no.190<br>Fl662 no.81                   | 6/216  |
| 50    |  | Corant<br>Ch. Coleman                              |   | 7/237  |

Concordances to no.43: Fl655 no.194 (John Jenkins); Och 1005 p.88;  
Och 599 no.42; Och 1022 no.52; Filmer 3 f.82. VDGS no.104  
Concordances to no.44: Och 1005 p.88; Och 599 no.42; Och 1022 no.  
53. VDGS no.105  
Concordances to no.45: Fl655 no.195 (John Jenkins); Och 1005 p.89;  
Och 1022 no.54; Filmer 3 f.81v. VDGS no.106

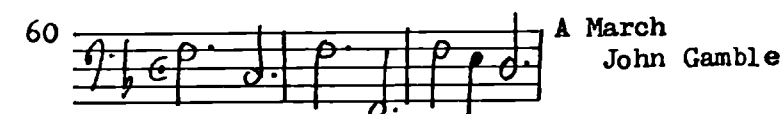


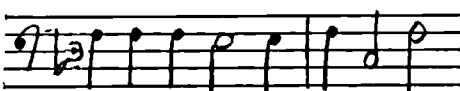
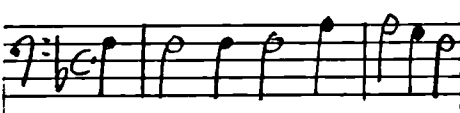


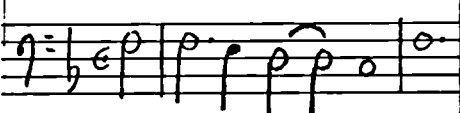

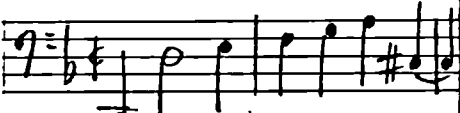



p.167



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p.168




|       |   |                                     |
|-------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 61    |    | Saraban                             |
| p.169 |   |                                     |
| 62    |    | Corant by<br>Mounsieur<br>Sebastian |
| 63    |    | Saraban                             |
| 64    |    | Almaine                             |
| 65    |   | Corant                              |
| 66    |  | A Toye<br>A Corant &<br>Toye        |
| p.170 |   |                                     |
| 67    |  | Fancy<br>Mr Jenkins                 |
| 68    |  | Corant<br>Ch: Coleman               |
| 69    |  | Saraban                             |
| 70    |  | Corant in A re                      |

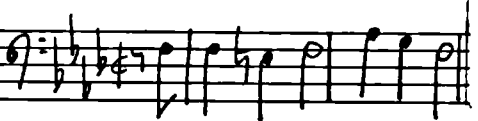
15/1  
final  
section  
See no 4.b, p 16!


6/215


71  Saraban

p.171

72  Ireland's  
Lament

73  Ayre  
Mr John Taylor

74  Lamentation:  
Ayre and  
Courant by Mr  
John Taylor

75  Galliard



## APPENDIX 2

## British Library Additional Manuscript 17801

Matthew Locke's autograph score Lbl Add.17801 appears to have been intended, at least in its final form, as a systematic collection of his complete chamber music. Its title page is inscribed:

Compositions for Broken,/and whole Consorts, of two,  
three/ffower, five and Six Parts, made by/Matthew Locke/  
Composer in Ordinary to his Majestye.

A later hand has added 'Charles the Second' and biographical details concerning Locke. The music pages are ruled for use as a score, with staves in blocks of two to six for different types of music. The main watermark, found with all rulings apart from the one used for the Duos for two bass viols, is a bend on a shield markedly less regular in pattern than the later Angoumois form (watermark L): the main paper is further distinguished by bar lines ruled in advance with a straight-edge. Two variant types of paper, both marked with a more regular bend watermark, also occur, and a few flyleaves have been ruled either freehand or with a rastrum.

The paper, ruling and contents of the manuscript are set out in the table overleaf. The 'main' paper has watermark L and is ruled with 9 mm. staves. Variant paper 'a' has watermark LVI and 12.5 mm. staves grouped in pairs; variant 'b' has a similar, though distinct, watermark but is ruled with the same three-stave rastrum as the main paper. Only the main paper has bar lines

ruled in advance. ' .

| Folios | Paper                   | Number and dimensions of staves | Rastrum: no. of staves & span | Music   |
|--------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 3-6    | a                       | 12;12.5 mm. x 245 mm.           | 2;41.5 mm.                    | Duos for two bass viols   |
| 7-15   | Main                    | 16;9 mm. x 221 mm.              | 2;26.5 mm.                    | <u>Consort for several friends</u>  |
| 16-17  | Main                    | freehand                        |                               |   |
| 18-26  | Main                    | 18;9 mm. x 222 mm.              | 3;45.5 mm.                    | <u>Little Consort</u>   |
| 27-38  | b                       | 18;9 mm. x 222 mm.              | 3;45.5 mm.                    | 27-37r: <u>Flat Consort</u> ;<br>37v: <u>Broken Consort</u>   |
| 39-45  | Main                    | "                               | "                             | <u>Broken Consort</u>   |
| 46     | ?                       | as above,                       | "                             | <u>Second Part of the</u>   |
| 47     | (unmarked but cas-side) | ually ruled                     |                               | <u>Broken Consort</u>   |
| 48-61  | Main                    | 20;9 mm. x 224 mm.              | 4;63.5 mm.                    | 48-61v: <u>Consort of Four Parts</u> ; then eight unused folios.  |
| 62     | Main                    | 20;9 mm. x 222 mm.              | 5;82 mm.                      | <u>ffor his Majestys Sagbutts &amp; Cornetts</u> ; <u>Ayre and Courante</u> ; then nineteen unused folios.  |
| 63     | Main                    | 18;9 mm. x 222 mm.              | 6;101 mm.                     | 63: canon; 63v: <u>ffor his Majestyes Sagbutts and Cornetts</u> ; <u>Pavan and Almand</u> ; 64: canon; 65: <u>Saraband</u> ; then twenty unused folios. |

The identity of paper and ruling characteristics throughout the greater part of the volume is striking: Add.17801 is not a conflation of different scores from different periods but a single score book to which, in a few places, major alterations have been made. There are eighty-nine folios of the main paper and only twenty of other kinds. The same stave-ruling equipment has been used

for all of the prepared paper of the manuscript apart from folios 3-6: not only are all of the individual staves 9 mm. across, but the measurement across any two staves within a block is 26.5 mm., across any three 45.5 mm. and so on. This equipment did not belong to Locke because the staves added to folios 16 and 17 have been drawn without a rastrum.

The variant papers largely coincide with two works: the duos for two bass viols and the Flat Consort. The latter, though on 'b' paper, is heavily revised in the score; the duos are free from all save minor corrections. But there is evidence of an earlier version copied on the standard two-stave paper. Two correction slips in the Consort for several friends can be identified as 'main' paper by their chain line spacing and 9 mm. ruling. The reverse of one, on f.8, has the end of fantasia 4 for two bass viols and part of fantasia 5, differing from the final version in the use of the F3 rather than F4 clef in fantasia 5; another, on f.14, has some earlier bars of fantasia 4. The paper used for these corrections may well have come from a version of the duos in the score in which fantasias 4 and 5 were either at the beginning or the end, so that one side of the paper only was copied. In that case, the revision of the bass viol duos must have involved extensive re-ordering, as well as alterations to individual pieces.<sup>1</sup>

It is tempting to assume that Add.17801 dates from Locke's appointment as Composer in Ordinary at the Restoration, but several features of the score argue against this interpretation. By 1660 Locke had composed his duos for two bass viols and Consort for several friends in two parts and the three-part Flat Consort and Little Consort: a score purchased in 1660 or thereabouts might

be expected to allow space for them as well as for new compositions in two and three parts. But paper for these types of music runs short, although there is plenty ruled for four-, five- and six-part works. If the 'b' paper was an addition to the original score, it had been bound in, or at least inserted, by the time the Broken Consort was copied, presumably not long after its composition c.1661.<sup>2</sup> The copy of the Consort for several friends, however, incorporates in its earliest form the major revisions made by Locke in the 1650s.<sup>3</sup>

The following tentative chronology might be suggested:

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| Early 1650s | Locke, seeing his immediate future as a composer of instrumental music, buys a large score ruled for consort music; enters duos for two bass viols, <u>Consort for several friends</u> and <u>Flat Consort</u> .  |
| Mid-1650s   | Adds <u>Little Consort</u> . Removes original copy of <u>Consort for several friends</u> and <u>Flat Consort</u> ; copies revised <u>several friends</u> on existing main paper, <u>Flat Consort</u> on new paper (b) obtained from the same stationer. |
| Late 1650s  | Makes alterations to bass-viol duos; removes folios from score and uses one for correction slips in further revisions of <u>several friends</u> ; copies duos on new paper.   |
| c.1660      | Locke has the score rebound, incorporating 'a' and 'b' papers. Begins <u>Broken Consort</u> on paper b.   |

All that can be claimed for this chronology is that it does not contradict either the paper evidence or the known dates of composition of some of the music; other interpretations are certainly possible. The rather casual ruling of folios 46 and 47 used the standard three-stave rastrum, the apparent carelessness perhaps being due to the difficulty of ruling in a bound book: it is possible that the remarkable uniformity of ruling means that the various events in the history of the manuscript took place within a shorter time span than I have suggested. The removal of the original copy of the bass viol duos might equally well have occurred at a later date, since the paper of the new copy is used for that work alone.

Perhaps the most intriguing mystery of the score is the generous and apparently unnecessary provision of paper ruled for five- and six-part music. Books of this quality were not cheap, and Locke's ownership of a volume ruled with blocks of five and six staves on several folios suggests that he had serious plans to compose five- and six-part fantasias. Is it possible that Locke, like Purcell, actually composed such music?

## NOTES TO APPENDIX 2

1. See Field, 'Matthew Locke'.
2. Lefkowitz, Grove, 111.
3. Tilmouth, 'Revisions'.

### APPENDIX 3

#### RASTRUM MEASUREMENTS

The rastra in the following table are grouped according to the number of staves ruled at one time: two-stave rastra are at the beginning of the table and six-stave examples at the end. Within each category the rastra are listed in order of increasing stave width.

'Stave widths' are those typical of each rastrum: within a five-stave rastrum, for example, one individual stave might well be slightly wider and one slightly narrower than the measurement given. The overall span of a rastrum seems to be subject to a deviation of c. 0.5 mm., probably caused by variations of pressure.

Table of rastrum measurements

| No. of staves | Staff width, mm. | Rastrum span, mm. | Date | MS                | Pages             |
|---------------|------------------|-------------------|------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 2             | 9                | 26.5              |      | Add.17801         | 524-9             |
| 2             | 12.5             | 41.5              |      | Add.17801         | "                 |
| 2             | 13               | 36                |      | Add.33236         | 444-57            |
| 3             | 9                | 45.5              |      | Add.17801         | 524-9             |
| 3             | 12               | 60                |      | Add.33236         | 444-57            |
| 3             | 12               | 60.5              | 1680 | Add.31431 part ii | 367-80;<br>436-43 |
| 3             | 12               | 61                |      | Add.31427         | 282-7             |
| 3             | 12               | 62                |      | Add.31427         | "                 |
| 3             | 12               | 62.5              | 1680 | Add.31431 part i  | 367-80;<br>436-43 |



| No. of staves | Stave width, mm. | Rastrum span, mm. | Date  | MS                                     | Pages   |
|---------------|------------------|-------------------|-------|--|---------|
| 4             | 9                | 63.5              |       | Add.17801                              | 524-9   |
| 4             | 10               | 75                |       | Add.10338                              | 165-220 |
| 4             | 10.5             | 80.5              | 1666  | Add.30488-90                           | 266-75  |
| 4             | 11               | 76                | 1654  | Mus.Sch. e.407-9                       | 227-9   |
| 4             | 11               | 81                |       | Add.10338                              | 165-220 |
| 4             | 11               | 83                | 1680. | Add.30930                              | 288-9   |
| 4             | 11               | 85                |       | Add.33236                              | 444-57  |
| 4             | 11.5             | 83                |       | Mus.Sch. e.400-3                       | 458-61  |
| 4             | 13               | 92.5              | 1668  | Mus.Sch. c.54-7                        | 276-7   |
| 5             | 9                | 82                |       | Add.17801                              | 524-9   |
| 5             | 11               | 106               |       | Add.10338                              | 165-220 |
| 5             | 11               | 106               |       | Add.10444                              | 340-66  |
| 5             | 11.5             | 117               |       | Add.10338                              | 165-220 |
| 5             | 12               | 108               |       | Add.31479; Mus.Sch. c.53,83,85;Lcm 920 | 394-425 |
| 5             | 12               | 109               |       | Add.10338                              | 165-220 |
| 5             | 12               | 109.5             | 1654  | Mus.Sch. d.220                         | 221-6   |
| 5             | 12               | 110               |       | Add.10338                              | 165-220 |

| No. of staves | Stave width, mm. | Rastrum span, mm. | Date | MS                     | Pages   |
|---------------|------------------|-------------------|------|------------------------|---------|
| 5             | 12               | 121.5             | 1661 | Add.30488-90           | 266-75  |
| 5             | 12.5             | 112               |      | Add.10445              | 340-66  |
| 5             | 12.5             | 116               | 1682 | Add.29283-5            | 304-12  |
| 5             | 13               | 115               |      | Add.10338              | 165-220 |
| 5             | 13               | 118               |      | Add.10338              | "       |
| 5             | 13               | 118.5             |      | Mus.Sch. c.82,86,88,91 | 413     |
| 5             | 13               | 119               |      | Add.10338              | 165-220 |
| 5             | 13               | 119               | 1666 | Add.30488-90           | 266-75  |
| 5             | 13.5             | 118               | 1657 | Add.10337              | 230-50  |
| 5             | 13.5             | 125               |      | Add.31423              | 325-339 |
| 5             | 13.5             | 127               |      | Add.31423              | "       |
| 6             | 9                | 101               |      | Add.17801              | 524-9   |
| 6             | 11               | 131.5             | 1680 | Add.30930              | 288-9   |
| 6             | 11.5             | 131               | 1682 | Add.33234              | 290-303 |
| 6             | 12               | 131               | 1682 | Add.33234              | "       |
| 6             | 12               | 138               | 1682 | Add.33234              | "       |

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| <u>DNB</u>           | <u>Stephen, L. and Lee, S. (eds), Dictionary of National Biography, London 1885 etc.</u>  |
| <u>Grove</u>         | <u>Sadie, S. (ed), The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, London 1980</u>   |
| <u>HCJ</u>           | <u>The Journals of the House of Commons</u>   |
| <u>HLJ</u>           | <u>The Journals of the House of Lords</u>   |
| Hughes-Hughes        | <u>Hughes-Hughes, A. Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum, London 1906-9, R/1964-6.</u>                                    |
| <u>RISM</u>          | <u>Répertoire international des sources musicales. Einzeldrucke vor 1800, Kassel etc. 1971-86.</u>  |
| <u>RISM Recueils</u> | <u>Répertoire international des sources musicales. Recueils imprimés XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles, München-Duisburg 1960.</u> |

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## Conclusion

The main objective of this study has been to establish a method of dating later seventeenth-century music manuscripts independently of their contents, and to use this method, in conjunction with other kinds of evidence, to gain a better understanding of the complex and varied repertory available in England at that time.

The first task was to assemble a quantity of material large enough to be representative of the period 1648 - 1688 and to establish a historical framework capable of explaining the changes apparent in the types of paper selected for music manuscripts during those years. This explanatory framework makes it possible to proceed from the particular evidence given by individual dated sources to probable dates for all papers of each general regional type. Without such background information, illustrations of dated watermarks are of limited value, as mere similarity between marks can be highly misleading. The commercial decisions responsible for the change to Angoumois paper in music manuscripts c.1660, and the political events resulting in the major increase in evident Dutch involvement in the French paper trade in 1678, followed by a transfer of production of 'Dutch' paper to Holland itself in the course of the Nine Years' War, result in clear differences in paper characteristics between the periods 1648 and earlier - 1660, 1660 - 1678, 1678 - 1688 and later: these different characteristics are reliable and valuable rough indicators of date at a time when music of many different kinds was being copied

in England.

Although watermark evidence on its own can offer a good rough guide to the date of a source, more precise dating will probably be achieved through the combination of watermark evidence with other kinds of information. The amount that can be learned from a detailed examination of the paper and structure of a source in conjunction with content, concordances, and biographical information about its copyist, is shown in my discussion of George Jeffreys' autograph score Lbl Add. 10338 (Ch. VI). The complexity of this source, and the availability of information about its copyist, made it an exceptionally rewarding subject for investigation, but many other music manuscripts can reveal something about their history beyond the broad information given by the watermark.

A further objective was the compilation of a small, specialised collection of watermark illustrations with associated stave rulings and detailed information about the nature and provenance of the sources concerned. Just as the value of a collection of watermarks is diminished by the absence of a historical background, the usefulness of a single illustration is restricted if there is no account of the type of paper in which it occurs and the way the paper was used. The majority of the marks illustrated in Chapter V are from music sources, which of course means that they occur in heavy, high-quality papers: other examples of the illustrated marks may be discovered

not only in music books but also in other material where paper of the same type and quality was required. They are unlikely to be found in printed books or, after c.1670, in ordinary correspondence, as distinctive lighter types of high-quality paper were introduced for that purpose.

Some more identical watermarks have already come to light in music sources, generally associated with identical stave rulings. The mark XXII group of partbooks with the hat watermark can be extended to include Lbl Madrigal Society MSS G.55-59 (four- and five-part Italian music copied by Jeffreys, a companion set to Add. 31479) and part of Ob MSS Mus. Sch. f.568-9: it seems increasingly likely that this large group of sources has a special relationship that deserves further study.<sup>1</sup> Mark IX, from Add.10338, appears in Tenbury 1013, Jeffreys' score of the four-voice mass from Grandi's Il primo libro de motetti; mark IX and a single sheet of mark V occur in Lbl Add.31434, copied by the important scribe who worked with John Lilly on the great collection of consort music in Och 2 and its related partbooks and with Jeffreys in T 1017 and Och 878-880.<sup>2</sup> The paper and ruling of Och 2 are identical with the main paper type of Locke's score Lbl Add.17801, another watermark concordance meriting closer examination.

The purpose of the paper study was of course to provide a tool for musical research, above all, to help to assess the dates of English sources from the later seventeenth century whose contents could have been copied at any time within quite an extended period. One feature of the English repertory of this time was the survival of earlier music, including fantasias as well as lighter airs and dances and more modern works such

as the Broken Consort of Locke: the three collections discussed in Chapter IX clearly show that such survivals were not the work of a reactionary group of amateurs with no interest in modern developments but, in these three cases at least, formed part of a varied repertory that included new music as well as old. The very late date of the most remarkable of these survivals, the series of fantasias copied c.1690 in Lbl Add. 31423 folios 1-75, depends entirely on paper evidence: although the copyist also transcribed Vitali's Op.9 (1684), only the monogram of Gillis van Hoven in the countermark position suggests that the fantasias are later rather than earlier than the Italian copies.

Italian vocal music appears to have been familiar to English composers well before the commonwealth period. Although Jeffreys' partbooks, Lbl Add.31479, date from the late 1650s, most of the music they contain was published no later than 1638: the parts were probably copied from an intermediate manuscript rather than directly from the prints. The link could well have been a collection of scores similar to T 1013, a copy by Jeffreys of a Grandi mass with some paper concordances with Add. 10338, and T 1012, his score of three Rovetta madrigals, which has a pot watermark of relatively early appearance. Matthew Locke's knowledge of Italian music is evident from his score copies in Add.31437.

The wide and informed interest in Continental music implied by these collections extended, later in the century, to Italian sonatas. A copy of Vitali's Op.9 has already been mentioned,



and Gabriel Roberts' partbooks, Add.31431, show that by 1680 Cazzati's Op.18 and Vitali's Op.2 and Op.5 as well as other Italian music were known not only to the amateurs who played them - presumably, like Roberts, successful middle-class merchants- but also to the professional scribe who copied Roberts' collection. Music by Corelli appears from paper evidence to have been copied in Add.33236 and Ob MSS Mus. Sch. e.400-3 not long after it was published, and Add.33236 also includes a series of sonatas by Colista. To judge from the quantity of Italian and other Continental music found in the sources discussed in Chapters X and XI, and in further manuscripts in the same hand as Add.31423, English musicians could not be accused of insularity. Yet the traditional English forms persisted, often in the same collections as more modern music.

Composers such as Locke, Jeffreys and Purcell clearly had access to a wide range of Italian music, and the fact that they did not simply imitate it cannot be due merely to unfamiliarity. Comments like Burney's

...if they [Purcell's sonatas] are compared  
with the productions of his cotemporary, Corelli,  
they will be called barbarous.<sup>3</sup>

reflect a condescension towards the English seventeenth-century style, and a belief that the arts progress in the same way as science and technology, that can lead to the assumption

that Locke and Purcell would have composed like Carissimi and Corelli if only they had known better. The truth is clearly that these English composers had a good knowledge of the work of their Continental contemporaries and chose to follow directions of their own.

English music of the late seventeenth century, culminating in the works of Purcell, seems to be in the process of developing a uniquely English musical idiom, created in full awareness of developments on the Continent but nevertheless firmly rooted in English traditions. Purcell's early death, it may be argued, prevented the completion of a stylistic synthesis that would have made eighteenth-century English music as distinctive as the French, German or Italian. This much is speculation; what is certain is that English repertories in use in the later part of the seventeenth century provided all the ingredients for this unfulfilled development.

## NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1. I am grateful to Mr Jonathan Wainwright for drawing my attention to the Jeffreys copies mentioned here and below, and to Jeffreys' collaboration with the so-called 'Lilly associate'.
2. See Willetts, 'John Lilly'.
3. Burney, A General History, iii, 507. It is fair to point out that most of Burney's references to Purcell are complimentary, but there is the same underlying assumption that Continental music is 'better' than English.